Next Month

and later

BOUND AUG 27 1940

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH NEEDS . . .

Anonymous

A devout Catholic layman, knowing the sternness of the Church with critics but feeling deeply that there are temporal policies of the Church today which need modification and clarification, takes this means of giving voice to convictions on subjects that perplex and embarrass a host of Roman Catholics.

THE FAKE-CLAIMS RACKET

Robert Monaghan

There is a new giant among fraud games — the liability-claims racket. If you are a small business or professional man, prosperous enough to stand a shakedown but without the resources to finance a long siege in the courts, you are a likely victim of one of the many varieties of this contemptible practice. Insurance companies, of course, take the greatest direct loss from liability swindlers, but don't think this fact is one you may accept with complacence. Every man who carries insurance is paying just the same for the daily bread of this fine lot of parasites.

ORACLE IN TWEED

Richard G. Hubler

The new "science" of sampling public opinion (see Mr. Updegraff's article in this issue) has a fine future. Here is the story of its leading exponent, George Horace Gallup, and of his organization, the American Institute of Public Opinion.

SUICIDE DOCTOR

Weldon Melick

There is a suicide every half-hour in the United States, a total of about twenty thousand a year. The National Save-a-Life League (Dr. Harry M. Warren, President and founder) claims to have prevented thirty thousand in thirty-two years, believes it could reduce the annual total substantially if its trained workers were enabled to reach more prospective suicides in time. For it is not hard to persuade these self-nominated candidates for oblivion to change their minds.

FORUM

and Century

JANUARY 1940

Charleston: the Great Myth . . . . . EDWARD TWIG 1

I Was a Jew . . . . . ANONYMOUS 8

Democracy's New Mirror . . . . . ROBERT R. UPDEGRAFF 11

Education and Democracy . . . . . ROBERT M. HUTCHINS 15

Life and Literature . . . . . MARY M. COLUM 18

Freedom Depends on Culture

Our Rostrum 24

The Forum Quiz . . . . . JO HUBBARD CHAMBERLIN 26

War on Consumers . . . . . GEORGE H. TICHENOR 28

The Theatre . . . . . LETA CLEWS CROMWELL 32

We Human Puppets . . . . . WINFRED RHOADES 34

Should Churches Pay Taxes? *A Debate*

I — Subsidized Religion . . . . . JOSEPH ERNEST MCAFEE 39

II — Church and State of Equal Right . . . . . ROBERT E. SPEER 40

III — Economy through Church Services . . . . . LAWRENCE LUCEY 42

Human Relations in the Laboratory . . . . . CHARLES R. WALKER 44

The Artist's Point of View . . . . . RALPH M. PEARSON 48

The Book Forum . . . . . *Conducted by* ELEANOR VAN ALEN IV

The Record Review . . . . . ARTHUR WALLACE HEPNER IX

Toasts IX

Travel Briefs . . . . . HARRY J. PRICE XI

Periodical F 77

VOL. CIII—No. 1

HENRY GODDARD LEACH, *Editor*

P. G. MOIR, *Managing Editor* J. H. TOMPKINS, *Assistant Editor*

Editorial Associates: MARY M. COLUM, LETA CLEWS CROMWELL, RALPH M. PEARSON, ELEANOR L. VAN ALEN

THE FORUM, combined with THE CENTURY MAGAZINE (Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.), is published monthly by the Forum Publishing Company, Inc. 35 cents a copy; $4.00 a year; foreign subscription $5.00, Canadian $4.50. Publication office, 10 Ferry Street, Concord, N. H. Editorial and general offices, 570 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y. Back copies not over three months old, 35 cents; all other back copies, $1.00. Five weeks' advance notice required for change of address, and such notices must supply the old address as well as the new. *Indexed in the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature.*

All manuscripts should be typewritten, accompanied by self-addressed stamped envelope, and addressed to the Editor at the New York Office. No responsibility is assumed for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

Printed in the United States of America. Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Concord, N. H., under Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1939, in the United States and Great Britain by Forum Publishing Company, Inc. No article in this issue may be reprinted in whole or in condensed form without express permission from the publishers.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTISTS PARTICIPATING:

C. W. Anderson	Lewis Daniel
Peggy Bacon	Adolf Dehn
Thomas Benton	John De Martelly
George Biddle	Churchill Ettinger
Arnold Blanch	Ernest Fiene
Lucile Blanch	Emil Ganso
Alex Blum	J. W. Golinkin
Aaron Bohrod	Gordon Grant
Alexander Brook	William Gropper
Alice S. Buell	George Grosz
Andrew Butler	Thomas Handforth
Philip Cheney	Ernest Hart
Howard Cook	William Heaslip
John Costigan	Albert Heckman
John S. Curry	Eugene Higgins

Morris H. Hobbs

ARTISTS PARTICIPATING:

Irwin Hoffman	Luigi Lucioni
Peter Hurd	Joseph Margulies
Moses Hyman	Frederick Owen
Joe Jones	Henry Pitz
Philip Kappel	Luis Quintanilla
Andrew Karoly	Boardman Robinson
Clayton Knight	Georges Schreiber
Alexander Kruse	Lawrence B. Smith
Yasuo Kuniyoshi	Raphael Soyer
J. J. Lankes	Albert Sterner
Doris Lee	Alexander Stern
Russell Limbach	Frederic Taubes
Charles Locke	Diana Thorne
W. R. Locke	Grant Wood
Nat Lowell	C. Jac Young

(At Left)

Grant Wood signs one of his originals, while artists Arnold Blanch and Doris Lee look on.

Why Grant Wood, Thomas Benton

And These 58 Other Great American Artists

Are Now Offering You Their Signed, Original

ETCHINGS *for only* $5 Each!

HOW would you like to possess a genuine, *signed* original by Grant Wood, Thomas Benton, John Steuart Curry, George Biddle, Luigi Lucioni or any one of 56 other famous artists? Now you can get one (or more) at a price that will seem incredible . . . only $5.00!

Here is an opportunity to lend rare distinction to your home with the very same originals from which purchases have been made by such distinguished art institutions as the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery, and the United States Library of Congress.

What Makes This Extraordinary Offer Possible?

For years American artists have realized that Americans *en masse* have had too little opportunity to enjoy art in their homes. The leaders among our great painters and etchers decided to do something to create a greater opportunity — and to build a growing interest in the works of generations of American artists still to come. They reasoned that they, in the forefront of American art, were most able to contribute their work to that end, and these distinguished artists agreed to present one or more representative originals to this new movement.

In order to fulfill the true purpose of this movement — to make certain that every cultured home could afford a genuine original by a great American artist — the price was made extremely low. This public announcement is being made to give every possible purchaser — whether an individual art lover, collector, museum, university or art gallery — the same opportunity for acquisition.

More Than 140 Different Subjects Available

The 1939 group, now being offered, may be inspected at our New York City galleries. Or, you may purchase directly from our free illustrated catalogue and inspect these works in your own home for thirty days with an unconditional refund guarantee. This means that even the most remotely situated art lover has exactly the same opportunity to acquire these treasured originals at this low $5.00 price as has the New York City resident.

Many Prize Winners Included

No work is signed by an artist until after he carefully examines it to make certain of its perfection, for each artist naturally realizes that every work that bears his name must be representative of his talent. In recognition of this, the subjects in this group each year win the highest honors and awards. The distinctions conferred on our program are discussed in the catalogue.

The sizes of the 140 different originals now being offered are generous. Subjects include landscapes, marines, character studies, nudes, architectural, historical, and sporting subjects. Styles range from the classical to the finest of the modern.

What Better Investment Could You Make Today?

Few objects of art have such steadily increasing value as fine original etchings and lithographs. Etchings by Whistler which sold for $5 not so many years ago now bring hundreds, even thousands, of dollars. Currier and Ives prints, which sold for only a penny less than a century ago are now such a rarity that certain subjects are worth a small fortune.

Certainly any offering by artists of such established reputation as those listed here will be quickly subscribed, and their value will correspondingly increase. Such has been the case with our offerings in the past. Many are already valued at $30 and more. May we therefore suggest that you act promptly.

MAIL COUPON *for* FREE CATALOGUE

Send TODAY for our interesting FREE 64-page Catalogue. It illustrates all the subjects available, gives the size of each and name of artist, as well as the story of each artist's career and awards. It also gives a detailed explanation of the purpose behind this amazing $5 price. You may order directly by mail from the catalogue. All selections are shipped with the understanding that you may return them within 30 days, if not delighted.

We suggest you act at once, to avail yourself of the broadest possible selection. Enclose 10c in stamps with the coupon to cover cost of postage and handling the catalogue. Address:

ASSOCIATED AMERICAN ARTISTS
Studio 201, 711 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

ASSOCIATED AMERICAN ARTISTS
Studio 201, 711 Fifth Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Please send me your FREE, Illustrated 64-page Catalogue, describing the Associated American Artists' Program; illustrating the original etchings and lithographs now available, outlining each artist's career and awards and containing comments of critics and collectors and museums. I enclose 10c in stamps to cover handling and mailing costs.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....State.....

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW Opportunities

for Men Seeking More Responsibility and Higher Income

BUSINESS is on the way UP. Are you prepared to go UP with it? . . . Every period of business expansion offers new opportunities for trained men. Any corporation head will tell you that rising business creates more responsible executive jobs than there are men qualified to fill them. The man who is prepared can reap a rich reward.

What Is the Right Preparation?

Department heads are plentiful enough—men who know accounting, or production, or selling, or some other ONE branch of business. But there are few who know the fundamentals of ALL departments and who are capable of managing and coordinating their activities.

The man with a one-track mind can be only the tool of men with broader training. He can never qualify for a real executive position. If you are now a junior executive or "department" man—whether in the accounting, engineering, financial, sales, or production division—you can broaden your training to include the fundamentals of ALL divisions, and thereby prepare yourself for the opportunities that are coming fast.

SOME OF THE AMERICAN BUSINESS LEADERS WHO HAVE HELPED TO BUILD THE INSTITUTE'S COURSE AND SERVICE

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, JR.
Chairman of the Board
United States Steel Corp.

ALFRED P. SLOAN, JR.
Chairman of the Board
General Motors Corporation

MAJOR B. FOSTER
Chairman, Dept. of Banking and Finance, New York Univ.

THOMAS J. WATSON
President, International Business Machines Corporation

FREDERICK W. PICKARD
Vice-President, E. I. duPont de Nemours & Company, Inc.

COLBY M. CHESTER, JR.
Chairman of the Board
General Foods Corporation

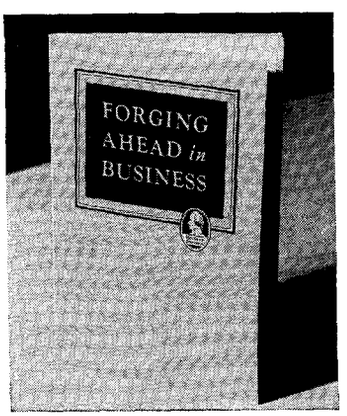
The Alexander Hamilton Institute Prepares Men to Reach the Top

For more than a quarter-century the Institute has been giving to the executives and coming executives of American business the organized knowledge of business that is essential to competent management. The Institute has gathered the experience of the most successful business men of the country, and the proved principles and methods of thousands of companies. It has organized and formulated this knowledge for the benefit of those who realize that without it no man is qualified for executive responsibility.

To those men who now hold, or who are determined to hold in the future, important places in the business world, the Institute offers the thorough, balanced knowledge of production, marketing, finance, and accounting essential in business administration; ideas, experience, methods and judgment of the most successful business men of America; a mastery of tested business principles and practice.

If You are of Executive Calibre Send for Your Copy of "FORGING AHEAD IN BUSINESS"

To men who want to qualify fully for executive responsibility and to win financial independence, we will be glad to send a copy of the famous book "Forging Ahead in Business." A new edition has been published which contains a most important message for the type of man who is going far in business. Mail the coupon for your copy. There is no cost or obligation.



THIS is a new edition of the famous book that has started so many thousands on the road to greater success. To the right man, the information and inspiration of this book can mean financial independence and security.

To the ALEXANDER HAMILTON INSTITUTE
199 Astor Place, New York, N. Y.

Please mail me, without cost or obligation, a copy of "Forging Ahead in Business."

Name.....

Business Address.....

Position.....

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SPECIAL FEATURES

ALASKA — ARCTIC ALMANAC

Monthly newsletter . . . illustrated. Fun, work and daily life 120 miles from the Arctic Circle. Read about the unique social events of the Far North . . . become acquainted with Alaskans who are Alaskans by choice. First issue of ARCTIC ALMANAC will be published in February 1940. By subscription, $10 a year. Box No. 35, Fairbanks, Alaska.

OUT-OF-PRINT and HARD-TO-FIND BOOKS supplied; also family and town histories, magazine back numbers, etc. **All subjects, all languages.** Send us your list of wants — no obligation. We report promptly. Lowest prices. (*We Also Buy Old Books and Magazines.*)
AMERICAN LIBRARY SERVICE
117 W. 48th Street Dept. F New York

POETRY

Book length manuscripts, wanted by New York publishing house for publication on cooperative, royalty basis. Confidential.

Box S, Forum & Century
570 Lexington Ave., New York

MANUSCRIPTS MARKETED

Fiction, Articles, Books. Collaboration on percentage. Play Dept. in charge David A. Balch, author Broadway plays, former editor of *True Story*, associate editor the *American Magazine*. Poetry Dept. in charge Lucia Trent and R. Cheyney, former editors *Poetry World*, etc. Describe your material. **NEW YORK PUBLISHING SERVICE, Literary Agents, 545 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C.**

LITERARY AGENTS FOR 20 YEARS

Novels, short stories, books, articles, verse, plays, scenarios, radio scripts marketed. Editing, revision, criticism, typing, ghost writing. Beginners welcomed. Specialists in handling hard-to-sell manuscripts. Write now for information regarding our resultful service. WRITERS WORKSHOP, INC., 570 Lexington Ave. at 51st, N. Y. C.

RALPH M. PEARSON'S

MAIL STUDY COURSES IN MODERN ART. Practice in creative painting, modeling, drawing. Analysis of current modern works. Bulletin on request. 288 Piermont Avenue, Nyack, New York.

SALARIED POSITIONS

MEN **$2,500 to $15,000** **WOMEN**

Our confidential system (hiding your identity) works for you; serves to increase your salary; promotes you for high salaried executive positions at moderate cost; if you have earned $2,500 or more, can prove it, write for valuable information. No. 37. Executive's Promotion Service, Washington, D. C.

WHAT CAUSES EPILEPSY? IS THERE A CURE?

A booklet containing the opinions of famous doctors on this interesting subject will be sent FREE, while they last, to any reader writing to the Educational Division, Dept. FC-1, 535 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

The Psychology of Writing Success

Edited by J. George Frederick

President of the Writers' Club of New York

FOR BOTH ESTABLISHED AND EMBRYO WRITERS

WAS $2.50—NOW $1.65

Chapters by Dr. A. A. Brill, famous psychoanalyst; Floyd Dell; Mary Austin and others, reveal the deeper secrets of writing success, and tell how writing talent can be developed.

Send check for your copy to:

THE FORUM PUBLISHING CO.

570 Lexington Avenue, New York

THE BOOK FORUM

Conducted by Eleanor Van Alen

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, by Henry F. Pringle (Farrar & Rinehart, $7.50).

It seems probable that Mr. Pringle's extensive work will constitute the final and authoritative word on Taft and his times. Whether it will be read widely or remain a reference book is open to question, for it must be admitted that Taft's career, by and large, was not studded with events of real interest to any but the serious student of American history. His struggle to reduce tariffs; his war on the "trusts"; his diplomatic dealings with Mexico, Japan, and Central America — even his years as the able first Commissioner of the Philippines — seem to be rather unimportant incidents in the "old, forgotten, far-off days."

The real interest to many readers will lie in the private correspondence of Mr. Taft, now published for the first time. These letters and memoranda emphasize his infectious charm and humor, his courageous honesty, his naïveté, and his complete inability to judge men. Always evident is the tragic struggle of the man — at his best a thorough, if not brilliant, lawyer — to avoid the political career for which he knew himself unfit. It is interesting to learn that Mrs. Taft, from the earliest days of their long and happy married life, had her heart set on the presidency for her husband and that she, perhaps more than anyone else, pushed him into the political arena. She, incidentally, never made any secret of her distrust, even dislike, for "dear Theodore" but, despite the domination which she exercised over Mr. Taft, she could never convince him of the accuracy of her forebodings until it was too late. Her husband's subsequent betrayal by "T. R." may serve as a grim reminder to some readers of these volumes that the Roosevelt family does not change with the years.

Mr. Pringle's considerable humor and easy style go far toward saving the day. It is an uneventful tale well told.

G. D. DEBEVOISE

SAMUEL JONES TILDEN, *A Study in Political Sagacity*, by Alexander Clarence Flick (Dodd, Mead, $5.00).

Samuel Jones Tilden's life spans the period from the War of 1812 to the end of the reconstruction era. At least outwardly, his life was typical of the prominent and successful American of the middle nineteenth century. He started life on a farm in upstate New York, came to the rapidly growing metropolis of New York City, became a lawyer, secured important railroads as clients, and prospered with the prosperity of the times, acquiring one of the vastest fortunes of the age. Like so many other rising citizens, he dabbled in politics from earliest youth until near the end of his life, writing pamphlets, making stump speeches, and participating actively in party affairs. He was a staunch Democrat throughout his active life and a leader in both his city and State.

The one respect in which Sam Tilden's life differed importantly from that of many contemporary Americans was that in childhood and youth he was an invalid and throughout life of delicate health. For this reason his school and college careers were chaotic and spasmodic. Nevertheless, he succeeded in being admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-seven, in being elected to the State Assembly, and later in becoming a member of the State constitutional conventions of 1846 and 1867. For a number of years following the Civil War he was Chairman of the New York State Democratic Committee. As such, he actively fought the corrupt Tweed ring in New York City, analyzing the bank accounts of the leaders of this ring in order to figure out their spoils system. He ran for, and was elected Governor on a reform ticket, and, while Governor, broke up the "canal" ring.

At the culmination of his career he was nominated by the Democratic Party for the presidency, and ran against Rutherford B. Hayes, the Republican candidate. The electoral college was divided evenly, and the election was disputed and settled by Congress, which, being overwhelmingly Republican, chose in favor of Hayes. Tilden showed the finest side of his character by insisting that his friends abide by this decision of their elected representatives, without contest of any kind. Tilden spent the rest of his days in retirement at his magnificent estate, Graystone, in Yonkers, and in his will left a substantial part of his vast fortune for the founding of a public library for the City of New York, one of the most enlightened bequests he could have conferred on his fellow citizens.

Mr. Flick, who for many years has been New York State's historian and in charge of the State archives, is ably qualified to write the life of one of New York's most important citizens. The book is readable and interesting because of the clarity of Mr. Flick's style and the certainty of his scholarship. It will form an

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Book Forum

important addition to Allen Nevins' series of American Political Leaders, as well as to the literature of American biography.

JOHN H. G. PELL

FREE ARTIST: *The story of Anton Rubenstein and His Brother*, by Catherine Drinker Bowen (Random House, $3.00).

It was almost seventy years ago that Anton Rubenstein toured this country, to delight our grandparents and fix a legend of virtuosity which survives to this day. His career closed before the mechanisms of recording had been perfected. Some hint of his incomparable mastery of the piano is occasionally given us by musicians who knew him in their youth — Josef Hofmann, his last celebrated pupil; Joseph Lhévinne; and Rachmaninov. He was a prolific composer also, but his grandiose symphonies, operas, and concertos are largely forgotten. His name is kept alive only by the Kammenoi Ostrov, the Melody in F, and the D Minor and G Major concertos.

Miss Bowen, whose *Beloved Friend* explored the romance of Rubenstein's pupil, Tchaikovsky, now redeems from neglect the illustrious master and his brother, Nicholas. *Free Artist* is fictionized biography, but is firmly based on exhaustive and scholarly research. The story which Miss Bowen has to tell — from the mass conversion to Christianity of the Rubenstein clan to Anton's disillusioned last years — is by its very nature a great one. It is a story of incessant struggle and unflagging idealism; of the failure of success and the ultimate success of failure; of genius sought by the world because it had so much to give. And the background of this story is a panorama of the European world of music during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

To the musical audience and to students of music, Miss Bowen's excellent research has made available some fascinating material. But the reader's debt to her exceeds mere appreciation of her scholarship. For she has achieved an arresting portrait, remarkable equally for sympathy and force.

LLOYD MORRIS

IN PLACE OF SPLENDOR, by Constancia de la Mora (Harcourt, Brace, $3.00).

This autobiography of a Spanish woman takes an extraordinary place in the growing literature of exile. It is a very moving and tender personal record; it is a collection of intensely exciting adventures; it portrays Spanish life at every level before and during the civil war; it gives a shrewd and accurate historical dissection of the causes of the war and of its outcome.

Constancia de la Mora was a legend in Spain, says Ernest Hemingway, and rightly so. The granddaughter of a prime minister, she had lived in and broken with the storybook world of the monarchy. When the Franco uprising began, she was a spirited republican, ready to fight. It was she who organized the foreign press bureau and as its head she saw the most heartwarming and heartbreaking aspects of the tragic struggle. Writing so closely after the events, she might be expected to deal in flat blacks and whites, and so her subtle shadings of humor and candor are all the more remarkable. For anyone who is inclined to feel dismal about the human race, she is recommended as a restorative and a tonic.

WORLD WITHOUT END, by Stoyan Pribichevich (Reynal & Hitchcock, $3.50).

For the politically short-tempered reader, this should prove a wholesome, keep-your-shirt-on sort of book. It is a friendly and detached and altogether charming history of the Balkans, whose unfortunate peoples have been reaping someone else's whirlwind for a good many centuries. Particularly they have reaped for the great powers, and it is rather startling to discover how often, as Emerson said about his thoughts, all of the present-day statesmen's best tricks were stolen from them by the ancients. It has been thought necessary, for example, to rescue the Balkans several times from the Turks or the Russians — but always depending on which of the two seemed the more dangerous to the West. And this has led to a mistaken impression that the inhabitants of these regions are themselves bad-tempered and contentious.

"The fact is," says Mr. Pribichevich, "that during the last hundred and fifty years, there have been only two wars between the small Balkan nations themselves. . . . Each lasted a few weeks. During the same century and a half the great powers fought six wars over the Balkans, involving sometimes the Balkan nations."

This is not to say there is anything of the cynic about the author. He looks realistically but urbanely at the political games of the past. He has given a valuable and absorbing record.

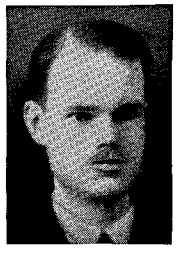
ART YOUNG: *His Life and Times*, by Art Young (Sheridan House, $3.50).

This frank and ingratiating autobiography of America's greatest caricaturist is one of those books that tempt a reviewer to an immoderate deal of tub thumping. About so simple and modest a self-portrait there is always a fear that it may be

To People who want to write *but can't get started*

Do you have the constant urge to write but the fear that a beginner hasn't a chance? Then listen to what Fulton Oursler, editor of Liberty, has to say on the subject:

"There is more room for newcomers in the writing field today — and especially in Liberty Magazine — than ever before. Some of the greatest of writing men and women have passed from the scene in recent years. Who will take their places? Who will be the new Robert W. Chambers, Edgar Wallace, Rudyard Kipling, and many others whose work we have published? It is also true that more people are trying to write than ever before, but talent is still rare and the writer still must learn his craft, as few of the newcomers nowadays seem willing to do. Fame, riches and the happiness of achievement await the new men and women of power."



"I am able to live on the money I earn by writing, and it is not yet ten months since I began the course! Until a few months after beginning study with you I had never had a line published. What more can I say for a course which has enabled me to earn a livelihood by the most congenial work I have ever done?" John N. Ottum, Jr., Box 95, Lisbon, N. D.

THE Newspaper Institute of America offers a free Writing Aptitude Test. Its object is to discover new recruits for the army of men and women who add to their income by fiction and article writing.

The Writing Aptitude Test is a simple but expert analysis of your latent ability, your powers of imagination, logic, etc. Not all applicants pass this test. Those who do are qualified to take the famous N. I. A. course based on the *practical* training given by big metropolitan dailies.

This is the New York Copy-Desk Method which teaches you to write by writing! You develop your *individual* style instead of trying to copy that of others.

You "cover" actual assignments such as metropolitan reporters get. Although you work at home, on your own time, you are constantly guided by experienced newspaper men.

It is really fascinating work. Each week you see new progress. In a matter of months you can acquire the coveted "professional" touch. Then you're ready for market with greatly improved chances of making sales.

Mail the Coupon Now

But the first step is to take the Writing Aptitude Test. It requires but a few minutes and costs nothing. So mail the coupon now. Make the first move towards the most enjoyable and profitable occupation — writing for publication! Newspaper Institute of America, One Park Avenue, New York.

Free

Newspaper Institute of America
One Park Avenue, New York

Send me, without cost or obligation, your Writing Aptitude Test and further information about writing for profit as promised in Forum, January.

Miss }
Mrs. } .....
Mr. }

Address .....

(All correspondence confidential. No salesmen will call on you.) 10A660

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WRITING IS AN ART!

YES, truly great writing largely an inborn gift. But writing is undeniably a trade as well, and as with all other trades, there are tricks to it.

The *technique* of writing can be acquired quickly and simply through intelligent instruction offered by the following books.

1. FIRST PRINCIPLES OF VERSE *by* Robert Hillyer

A handbook on versification that has long been needed by poets and teachers. It treats not only the fundamental elements of verse — diction, imagery, the music of words, the various kinds of metre, basic metrical forms, and special ones like the sonnet, the ode, and French forms — but also the bases of criticism of verse. **$2.00**

3. SHORT STORY WRITING FOR PROFIT *by* Elliott Blackiston

Precise, practical instruction in each phase of the short story — theme, plot, mood, characterization, etc. It is a necessity for the beginner; yet writers farther along the road to successful authorship, who are not finding a market for all of their work, will find in this book many practical suggestions. **$2.00**

5. THE TECHNIQUE OF NOVEL WRITING *by* Basil Hogarth

An intelligent attempt to analyze the component elements of the modern novel, and to reduce the writing of a novel to a definite literary exercise. **$2.00**

6. HOW TO REVISE YOUR OWN STORIES *by* Anne Hamilton

With a series of pointed questions and answers, Anne Hamilton supplies a working method for the self-analysis of a short story, and provides a formula for its effective revision — especially with a view toward increasing its salability. **$1.25**

7. WRITING THE JUVENILE STORY *by* May Emery Hall

"The twenty chapters of *Writing the Juvenile Story* are crammed with help geared to today: subject matter, treatment and markets. The best book on the subject I have yet seen." — *Boston Transcript* **$2.00**

8. PREPARING THE MANUSCRIPT *by* Udia G. Olsen

A guide for writers that clarifies the fundamental rules of manuscript preparation with specific information about typing the script; checking and correcting grammar, spelling, punctuation; indexing, proofreading, etc. **$1.00**

9. WRITING IS WORK *by* Mary Roberts Rinehart

Mrs. Rinehart explains, analyzes, and describes writing as she knows it. She gives a clear picture of the path a writer's life follows, and her intimate account makes delightful and profitable reading. **$.75**

Order Form

FORUM PUBLISHING CO.
570 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Please order by number

I enclose.....for the following books:
1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

The Book Forum

shouldered into the background by the season's more pretentious volumes. And then the book is so good, in every sense, including the moral; it is so filled with Art Young's own kind of sagacious anecdote — and with reproductions of his work.

The history of the long struggle for the possession of a great talent enlivens his restrained pages. First, he reports, it was the property of the Republican Party and any newspaper able to pay for it; but finally genial Art Young (and the liberal papers which were sometimes able to pay for it) won out. Always in the thick of controversy, he seemed at the same time to be the least contentious of men. And he always managed to befriend enemies, even while attacking the social ills he thought they aided and abetted.

The Art Young who long delighted *Saturday Evening Post* readers with his imaginative Trees at Night and who was already amusing readers of the comic weeklies two generations ago will probably first be thought of these days in another of his roles. He saw no sense in America's entry into the last war and he faced trial and danger of imprisonment for his drawings expressing his objections. Art Young at the *Masses* trial is part of our folklore. Concluding his life story at a time when he believes we are once more dangerously close to involvement in a war which can bring no good to the American people, he opposes our possible entry with the same firmness he showed in 1917.

M. L. ELTING

CANDLE IN THE DARK by Irwin Edman (Viking, $1.25).

This is a neat "postscript to despair" by the genial philosopher and liberal professor from Columbia. Mr. Edman, the author of the civilized book, *Philosopher's Holiday*, in this essay, throwing its little beams far into our present world darkness, adds another more extended article of faith to many that have been published from other sources in this magazine. He offers a New Year's message to all those sensitive enough today to be heavy-laden at home or abroad.

Irwin Edman owes a recognized debt to George Santayana. To his everlasting credit, he has always been first a philosophic student of life (with plenty of Taoistic enjoyment of living flavored with Greek hedonism and not a touch of aesthetics a la Croce) and lastly a professor. His is a gentle spirit, warm though detached. Therefore he believes us to be most "deeply saddened now by the fact that we can no longer believe in man."

Candle in the Dark is really an extension of the ideas embodied in the last chapter of *Philosopher's Holiday*, about the Bomb and the Ivory Tower today. Lin Yutang, the Chinese philosopher, in a recent article has oddly made the same point: that war sharpens, renders more precious, values we had taken for granted and heightens in reality the brotherhood of man. The prose is level, crisp, lyrical by turns. We will not give away the message, but this little book has solved one holiday shopper's problems.

AMERICA'S HOUSE OF LORDS, by Harold L. Ickes (Harcourt, Brace, $1.50).

It is a pity that this glorified pamphlet should have been thrown so hastily together and written with such obvious and bitter bias and political partisanship. For the militant Secretary of our Interior writes, besides truisms, many unpleasant truths about our press. His premise is that "with rare exceptions, the attitude of that newspaper is unsocial whose publisher belongs to the money class and whose primary objective is to make profits." There is no one who performs better in airing a grudge than Mr. Ickes, who opens fire from the platform of the American Society of Newspaper Editors' adopted code of ethics of 1923.

But Mr. Ickes offers no solution to the issue he poses, because he says he does not wish to see the press throttled, and does not propose government subsidy, which would come to the same thing. His random suggestions seem weak.

CARIBBEAN TREASURE, by Ivan T. Sanderson (Viking, $3.00).

THE FLOWERING EARTH, by Donald C. Peattie (Putnam, $2.50).

One may count it as a holiday blessing indeed, that these two books, while they afford so striking a parallel in the widely differing fields of zoology and botany, should have been released almost simultaneously. Both are by fine scientists who can write charmingly, who know how to popularize their respective subjects and heighten in readable prose their adventures afield. Both authors are professionals as to both equipment and experience, who have nevertheless remained amateurs in the love of jobs that are their hobbies also. Both know how to communicate a scientific passion and naturalist's excitement to the casual reader. Mr. Peattie ranks, in the opinion of experts, with our great naturalists — Hudson, Thoreau, Burroughs, Muir, etc.; Mr. Sanderson is the English author of that delightful book about West Africa, *Animal Treasure*.

This reviewer confesses to an inordinate interest in animals and their behavior and a delight in descriptions of interior jungle land, like that of Surinam in South America, but likewise to incuriosity

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Book Forum

about plant life on the prairies, North American ranges, or Pacific sea floors — till captivated by Mr. Peattie's infectious enthusiasm. Perhaps it's because he writes of botany by the way and dramatizes such botanical data as chlorophyll, "the green blood of the world" and "the one link between the sun and life," or pictures for us the classic carboniferous age of giant plant structures. He makes the reader aware not of the mysticism but of the mysteries of nature — evincing a cosmic consciousness like that of the desert flyer, Saint Exupéry.

Mr. Sanderson, too, writes with immense imagination of his eerie findings in Trinidad caves, of blood-lapping bats, of a dead whale's capture off Paramaribo. His is a wonderful camera eye for animals and their distinctive personalities. He recounts faithfully the discouragements to the animal collector, whom he likens to a plunderer of natural resources.

Both books show very clearly that no communism prevails in plant or animal life — rather are both pyramidal. Finally, both writers yield an extraordinary "atmosphere" of the past of our planet in present discovery. Mr. Sanderson has illustrated his book with attractive pencil drawings. Woodcuts by Landacre adorn Mr. Peattie's, which has both index and bibliography (the former is lacking in Mr. Sanderson's volume).

THE AWAKENING OF AMERICA, by V. F. Calverton (Day, $3.75).

This first volume of a large unoriginal work purports to reread American history "in terms of the ruled instead of the rulers, the underdogs instead of the top dogs." So we encounter again the by now familiar Marxian interpretation of history. The economic foundations of our early society are explored by this anthropologist, sociologist, historian, and at times even philosopher. The ubiquitous writer will give anyone looking for social significance, growth, and changes in the American scene today as an outcropping of our yesterdays food for thought, as well as much for disagreement, in this highly suggestible book. The most interesting sections deal with our colonial history and such piquant ideas as that Puritanism was a survival of Judaism. The epilogue is a gem essay on democracy.

Juveniles

PRINCESS SEPTEMBER AND THE NIGHTINGALE. by W. Somerset Maugham, illustrated by Richard C. Jones (Oxford, $2.50).

Mr. Maugham has often been suspected of being a moralist, and this charming little fable for tiny females proves it! With its multicolored sketches and its sophisticated story in the Anderson tradition, it will captivate all from six to sixty.

THE LITTLE MERMAID, by Hans Christian Andersen, illustrated by Dorothy Lathrop (Macmillan, $2.50).

Any book illustrated by the gossamer-and-rainbow pen of Dorothy Lathrop is a children's (six to twelve) event and a grownup's treat, and this classic is no exception — its delicate plates unsurpassed even by her notable predecessor's, Heath Robinson's, illustrations.

BOMBA, by James Bordrero (Random House, $1.50).

A dashingly written and vivaciously illustrated tale for little people (five to nine) of a wild Mexican burro and his alternately gay and sad adventures with bandits. Children love the line drawings and will learn much, by the way, about their Mexican neighbors.

PINOCCHIO, adapted from the original story, illustrated by Walt Disney (Random House, $1.00).

It's Walt again at his best, in the Snow White vein, with Pinocchio a merrier Dopey. The text, alas, is distinctly poor.

E. V. A.

Make your CONVERSATION pay dividends!

● Your personality is judged by your *everyday* conversation. Whatever you say *can* and *always should* reflect your real abilities. Are you sure *you* make a good impression every time you talk?

● In your conversation lies the opportunity for social and business advancement—new friendships—new contacts—popularity—promotion—*in short,* SUCCESS.

● You may have this booklet FREE. It describes in detail a simple and practical method for self-training in conversation—*in your own home.*

● This unique method is heartily endorsed by leading educators.

● Acquire ease and skill in *conversation.* This booklet tells you how. Mail coupon or write to Conversation Institute, Dept. 1161, 3601 Michigan Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

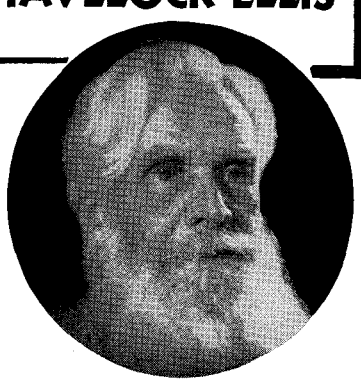
Conversation Institute
Dept. 1161, 3601 Michigan Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.
Please send me your *free* booklet "Adventures in Conversation."

*Name*_____

*Address*_____

*City*_____ *State*_____

HAVELOCK ELLIS
PSYCHOLOGY of SEX



His LATEST BOOK on the SEXUAL LIFE Crystallizes the FINDINGS of a LIFETIME

THE NATION *says:*
"There is probably no better introduction to contemporary knowledge and contemporary theories about the physiology, psychology and hygiene of sex."

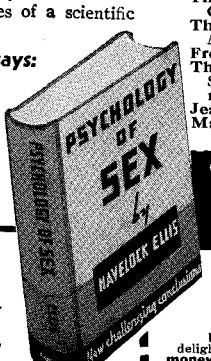
NEW REPUBLIC *says:*
"Has all the qualities of a scientific text except dullness."

BERTRAND RUSSELL *says:*
"Few books on the subject of sex can be so confidently recommended as this truly admirable volume."

— Authorized — Unabridged

PART OF CONTENTS

The Nature of the Sexual Impulse
The Sexual Zones
The Sexual Impulse in Youth
Masturbation
Frigidity
Impotence
First Intercourse
Secondary Sexual Characters
The "Under-sexed": the "Over-sexed"
Exhibitionism
The Sexual Criminal
Analysis of Courtship
Sadism and Masochism
Woman's Change of Life
The Dangerous Age in Men
Homosexuality
Cruelty and Pain in Relation to Sex
Hermaphroditism
Sexual Abstinence
Sex Intercourse and Health
The Choice of a Mate
Preparation for Marriage
Fertility and Sterility
Divorce
Monogamy; Polygamy
The Nature of Birth Control
The Question of Abortion
Frequency of Coitus
The Sexual Athlete: Satyriasis; Nymphomania
Jealousy
Married Love
Sex Life of Unmarried Adults
Dreams: Their Significance
Sexual Fetishes and Symbols
Sexual Adjustments
Sex Happiness
Age and the Sexua Impulse
The Sexual Impulse and Love
Love Rights of Women: of Men
Esthetics of Coitus
Expression and Repression
Substitutes for Sex
Psychoanalytic Concepts of Sex
Pre-marital Knowledge and Experience
Modesty; Nudism
Childbirth: Sex Life During Pregnancy; Immediately After
Sexual Feeling in Women
Sex Practice in Marriage
Methods and Technique of Coitus
Sexual Pleasure and Conception
Positions in Coitus
Sex Life and Nervous Disorders
Sexual Difficulties
Freud's "Unconscious": "Libido"
The Art of Love
Glossary of Sexual Terms
Index



"THE BEST ONE-VOLUME TREATMENT OF SEX IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE"
— CARL VAN DOREN

New Edition
COMPLETE IN ONE VOL.
389 Pages
READ FIRST—*Then decide!*
5-DAY MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE

Send this coupon NOW to your bookseller, or to
Emerson Books, Dept. 12-B, 251 W. 19th St., N. Y. C.
I am sending you this portion of advertisement with my name and address in margin to take advantage of your offer on PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX by Havelock Ellis. I will pay $3.00 and few cents delivery charge upon arrival of book. I have the right to return book within 5 days, for full refund of purchase price, if not entirely delighted. (If you wish to save delivery charges, send only $3.00. **Same money-back guarantee, of course.**) I am over 21 years old.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A NATION UNITED BY TELEPHONE

JUST twenty-five years ago, on January 25, 1915, the first transcontinental telephone call was made. East and West were united in dramatic ceremony.

President Wilson talked from the White House across the country, testifying to the nation's pride "that this vital cord should have been stretched across America as a sample of our energy and enterprise."

The inventor of the telephone, Alexander Graham Bell, in New York, repeated across the continent to San Francisco the first words ever heard over a telephone—"Mr. Watson, come here, I want you"—to the same Thomas A. Watson who had heard them in the garret workshop in Boston in 1876.

That ceremony ushered in transcontinental service twenty-five years ago. At that time it cost $20.70 to call San Francisco from New York. Now it costs $6.50 for a station-to-station call and only $4.25 after seven in the evening and all day Sunday.

In 1915 it took about half an hour, on the average, to make a connection. Now most calls are put through without hanging up.

These are measures of progress in the never-ending effort of the Bell System to give faster, clearer, more useful and courteous service to the people of the United States.

• • •

BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

F O R U M

and Century

JANUARY, 1940 VOL. CIII, NO. 1

CHARLESTON: the Great Myth

by **EDWARD TWIG**

CHARLESTON HAD its day — a brilliant, magnificent day. All that is left of that day are a few mansions, complete with Adams doorways and walled gardens and the memories of another age; quite a bit of history; many records and anecdotes; and a legendary Charleston that exists only in the minds of the self-deluded. There is no such place as the utterly beautiful, charming, gracious old city that the romantics, the wishful thinkers, the fabulists say there is. Remote from that great day of hers is the real Charleston — poor, uncourtly, apathetic, and having as little to do with her own brilliant past as she has with the American present.

Time does not stand still — not even in Charleston, South Carolina, where that claim is forever being made. What time has done to Charleston is devastating, ruthless.

She is like an old woman who has lived too long, disfigured with age, forever dying, yet always still alive. Actually, hers is a kind of life beyond the grave. Charleston at night is an eerie place.

The glorious past of Charleston could not possibly exist in the present city. No place could be less suitable for the grand manner, the elegant ease, the aesthetic and delicate grace of that fabulous town. No place could be less likely to breed either mettlesome or languorous ultrafashionable aristocrats. Culture would be impossible in this stagnation.

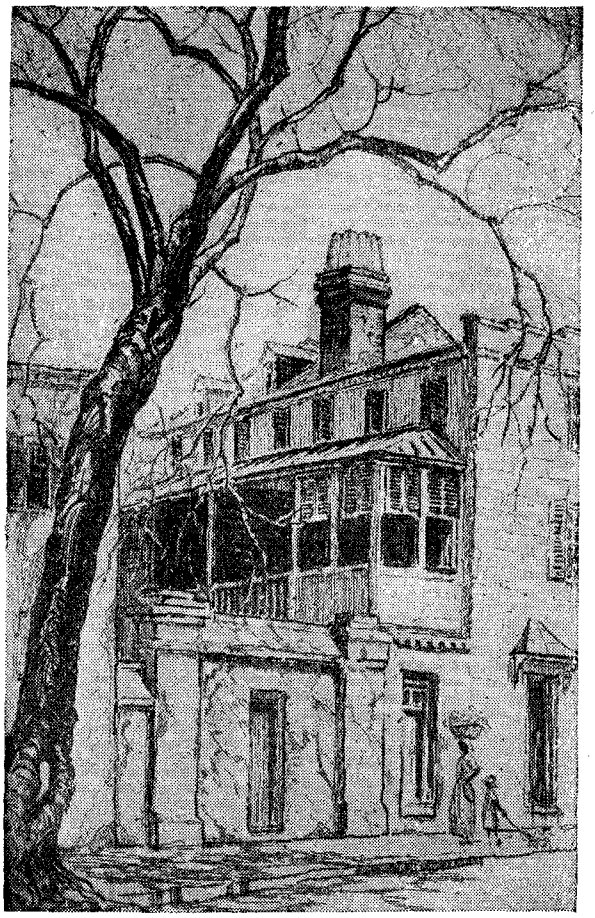
Look at this place "where Time stands still," "where the Past lives on in the Present, unchanged and unchanging," "where the fine art of living is the great heritage of her people," "where culture blooms as brilliantly as do the azaleas."

We see that Charleston is first and foremost a poor man's town. Time has robbed her, and Charleston never fights back at time. So the mark of the place is the mark of poverty and neglect — not the genteel poverty of the romances but down-at-the-heels poverty.

We see that Charleston now does not belong to "aristocrats," broken-down or otherwise, but to "nobodies." Theirs is the main street of the city, along with all the rest of the town with

DRURY COLLEGE LIBRARY

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Elizabeth O'N. Verner *Courtesy of the Kennedy Galleries*

Side Entrance, Charleston

the exception of a few hallowed spots. This main street is a lane, narrow as a string, sadly uneager and unstimulating, and a constant reminder that "there is always a Depression in Charleston."

This is a small town "main drag" (one wonders what that other Charleston would think of it), revealing the condition and the tastes of those who buy.

There are too many second-hand stores, too many holes in the wall for "eats" and sundry trash, too many beer hangouts, too many pawnshops.

Here and there on the long street is a bright store that is an oasis in a desert of bleakness.

One remembers that on this street once stood the first department store in America, to which the great ladies of the old South came, often traveling many hundreds of miles, to buy treasures in lace and the like which were imported from far corners of the world.

The rich in Charleston today are generally the damyankees who have come because of the legends and have stayed to try to make some of them real.

Waging an eleventh-hour fight against the time that "stands still," these outsiders have saved some great old houses and many a plantation manor and have converted desquamating old slave quarters in narrow streets into the little pastel gems that are bright enough to be done in full color in ecstatic periodicals. With a few exceptions, the houses that make Charleston look a little as she is meant to look entire, according to the fables, are the restored places of these outsiders who so desperately want the mythical Charleston to exist.

Not Homes—Just Houses

Clustering around these restored mansions and slave quarters that find themselves in so many soft-lighted photographs, water-color sketches, and etchings are the houses that belong to most Charlestonians. And sorrier houses it is hard to imagine. They are that somber paintless hue or a dirty brown or white. Their porches sag precariously. The fact that the porches are often called "galleries" doesn't keep them from being ugly appendages that have atrophied.

Most of the houses are the one-room-wide, single houses of the Low Country, with their sides to the street and their fronts facing the blank backs of the equally gaunt and ugly houses next door. Plants hang from green-painted lard tins, chamber pots, and bona fide flower pots that line the miles of banister railings. And yards are often rock-hard black earth that shines when it rains and smells when the sun draws the dampness out.

Charlestonians often speak disdainfully of the "row" houses of less blessed sections of this country. Yet their identical narrow houses stand side by side in almost every street in Charleston, and are distinguishable only by the color (or lack of it) of their paint, the angle of the porches, the list of the fences, and the individual droop of the houses themselves.

Inside many of these single houses that are the real symbol of Charleston today are monstrous pieces of furniture from the 'seventies and 'eighties, big, black, and forbidding things with mottled marble tops and festoons of rusty chains. The beds are specters in the high, shadowy rooms; and the ancient gas fixtures, converted reluctantly to electricity, hang down like fungoid growths that give off a glow. Many of these Charleston houses are bedecked with

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the worst wooden lace to be found anywhere in the world, rococo architecture on a binge.

In these houses, in the furniture that haunts them, is the answer to Charleston's well-kept secret. The past *does* live on in the present, but it is not the brilliant past "before" but the bitter and ugly past "after" the war that destroyed the old Charleston forever and gave the new an eternal alibi.

The past that stands in every street is the past of 1870. Almost everything in the city today is an actual part of that time or a direct descendant of it.

There's a little of colonial Charleston left, a little more antebellum Charleston left, but it is preposterous to claim that these things are Charleston itself. The Charlestonians who have held on to their mansions and the Charlestonians who never had mansions are like the town. They stem from the "after"; they cannot cross that great gulf. They are separated from their own ancestors by the metamorphosis of the Civil War. They cannot feel or be as their ancestors felt or were. The fantastic thing that was Charleston before the war collapsed completely. Nothing was left alive; nothing grew again among the ruins. Charleston gave herself up completely to inertia and decay.

So now many houses are utterly forlorn. Time will make them more so. God knows what will happen to them in the years to come and what will become of Charleston. These houses are filled with a musty smell, are riddled with termites, and actually belong to the giant cockroaches which race across the kitchens, fly about the high, bleak rooms, and take their ease and fill in the quiet of the gloomy clothes closets.

Not Antique—Just Old

Look at the people who live in these houses. What kind of people are they?

Charlestonians are said to have a great heritage, but they are the disinherited of the land. Born into a city that has nothing before it but the grave, they are offered no opportunities and blessed with no ambition. Those few who find a rare urge to succeed, to climb, marking them as different from their fellows, flee the crumbling old tree trunk as soon as they can.

As we see the people on their porches and on the street, we realize again that Charleston is a poor man's town. Charleston's clothes are called "conservative." They're not conservative — they're just old. They look like the contents of a long unopened trunk. They have a little more style and verve than the clothes of the Amish.

Charlestonians are unashamed of their old

Alfred Hutter — *Courtesy of the Kennedy Galleries*

Phoebe Passes

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

clothes, their drooping houses, and their empty pocketbooks. Shame is beyond them, just as real pride is. They're content with almost nothing, resigned to the fact that they'll never have more.

Without the tourists, Charlestonians take money out of one pocket and put it in another. They live on each other, and the supply of money is thin.

So the tourists are welcomed but not wanted. The root-deep prejudice against the North is poorly concealed. But the need of Northern money cannot be hidden and is sometimes extremely humiliating to those who really love Charleston.

For instance, there is the new slum-clearance project. Charleston wants all the projects she can get, but this time the old jail stood in the way.

Charleston's jail is (was, now) a medieval structure, complete with everything but a moat and a drawbridge. The wall was a great high thing, and the turret towers were very picturesque. Charleston had kept this jail because she could afford no other (the prime reason for most of the city's clinging to the old). It was a tourist come-on, even if it was such a terrible place that the government never permitted federal prisoners to be kept in it, even overnight.

On the horns of a dilemma, Charlestonians fought for the jail, then for the wall, or they battled for the project. Mr. Strauss, the New Deal's representative, is quoted as having said that the government couldn't worry itself over old things that stood in the way of better, new things. Many Charlestonians agreed. But the newspaper printed letters of the outraged people who held out for the landmark. These letters played on the theme that, if Charleston didn't keep herself as quaintly attractive as she could, she would lose her life's blood — the tourist money. Few were the genuine lovers of Charleston's past and her relics who begged that this ancient landmark be kept for its own sake. One lady who loves Charleston and is the Society for the Preservation of Old Dwellings has waged a continuous and valiant fight for beautiful or desolate ruins. Time will defeat her, too.

Most Charlestonians have a sort of resentful love of their old city. They wouldn't do much for it but they resent the claim that there is anything the matter with it. They'd tear the whole city down, however, for a project big enough.

These people are the product of the place. They are part of its pretense. They even claim that they don't exist in order to say that Charleston is what she always was. They believe what they say and want everyone else to believe them. They repeat all the myths over and over again, though the realities before them are devastating to such airy nonsense. Many of them are as complacently ignorant as anyone can possibly be and are smug about things that are nonexistent.

Much of Charleston's stagnation is the result of this overpowering self-hypnotism and conceit. Since Charleston is utterly satisfied with herself and believes her ugliness to be beauty, her inertia to be culture, her pretense to be truth, she never lifts a hand to improve herself. Since her people are cultured by inheritance, no books need be read, no art relished.

Not Climate — Just Laziness

A woman in Charleston recently said, in all seriousness, "I never move unless I have to." She is less than forty but she never stirs from her chair unless she has to. This is what time has transformed the "elegant languor" into — lethargy, sloth.

The "fine art of living that is the great heritage of these people" is made up of having a Negro servant for two or three dollars a week; going to bed after a heavy, hot dinner in the middle of the day; playing a bit of bridge, bingo, or poker; and going to the movies. Some fish a little; some hunt a little. Every day is like the next, and even most of the months of the year are the same, because of the mild climate. There is never any festive air on holidays — there is just the usual blankness and emptiness. Time doesn't stand still in Charleston — it just ticks itself away vacuously. Life goes untasted.

The Charlestonian, with very few exceptions, has a Negro servant of some kind. He may pay the servant as little as fifteen cents a day or as much as five dollars a week. He goes on the assumption that all black females were born cleaners or cooks. This is one of the greatest delusions in Charleston. They break more than they clean and they burn more than they cook. But they keep one from moving unless one has

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to. And that is the fine art of living — as who should know better than these brilliant descendants of the godlike people of early Charleston?

The habit of going to bed after a hot dinner, upon sizzling, sticky sheets, is certainly unhygienic and is certainly not the sweet siesta of the myths. If life is "unhurried" in Charleston, it is probably owing to metabolic causes — along with the fact that there is nothing to hurry for, nothing apparently to accomplish, nothing to gain.

Incidentally, the legendary mint julep is as little known and as little enjoyed as lobster thermidor. This symbol of "gracious living" is virtually nonexistent. Whisky flows in Charleston but not with mint on the tide.

Endless novels and other works have dwelt on the enervating climate of this ancient American city. It's the heat of her days, so they say, that has made her people less alert, less "efficient," and, in the glamourous jargon of the place, more languorous.

The following are average daily *maximum* summer temperatures:

Charleston	86.5°
Des Moines, Ia.	83.5°
Dodge City, Kan.	88.4°
Indianapolis, Ind.	83.4°
Parkersburg, W. Va.	84.0°
St. Louis, Mo.	85.8°
Wilmington, N. C.	83.6°

The average maximum summer temperature of all these less supine places is 85.5°.

That takes care of the maximum temperature. The mean summer average for Charleston is nothing to get so hot about. It is 80°.

The mean humidity of Charleston is 79, which does not make for sultriness. And Charleston is breeze-swept and often utterly delightful, when people are being prostrated in less fortunate cities far north. The leaves of the trees are always aflutter, whereas they are as still as stone in too many towns above Mason and Dixon's line.

The Southern Heat Myth is the tenuous foundation for more nonsense than any other fiction-producing device in America.

According to Vance, in *The Human Geography of the South*, the theory that the Southern sun has made the Southerner take on the characteristics of the Mediterranean European is neat but incapable of demonstration. There is simply no proof whatsoever that the climate is a factor in molding racial temperament and disposition.

Robert De C. Ward, in *The Climates of the United States*, says:

> The South does not comprise a sharply defined climatic province. . . . The slowly graduated effect on solar heat is everywhere modified by wide plains left open to cold winds from Canada and warm moist winds from the Gulf.

It is a little-known fact that neither heat prostration nor sunstroke is nearly so common in the South as in the North, even in Southern slum areas. White women are seen working in the heat of the day in the fields of South Carolina and Georgia. And it is a matter of record that summer in Northern and Eastern cities is more intolerable than in the South.

Vance says that the superstition that the Southern climate has dangerous effects and causes man to do less work than can be done in other sections must pass. "It belongs with Frederick Mayratt's view that the climate of America has caused a deterioration in the original physique of the English settlers."

It is an undeniable fact that a man can do far more work, in much greater comfort, in Charleston than he can in New York or other outlandish places. The heat is never excessive; the winter is balmy and snowless. Sixty-five per cent of the year are sunshiny days, according to fifty-year-long records.

An "outsider" does not find the urge to work or to exert himself growing less when he lives in Charleston than when he lives anyplace else. In fact Charleston has so much good weather that there is endless opportunity — given the desire — for countless activities out of the ordinary.

No — the man who finds the answer to the Charlestonian's disinclination to bestir himself will have to forget the worn-out heat alibi and seek a more prosaic explanation.

Not High Spirits — Just Crime

When one studies Charleston's modern attitude toward crime, one cannot help but wonder if the heat is also to be called on to account for this more serious form of *laissez faire*. To be languid toward murder is carrying the whole thing too far.

Charleston is near enough to the top of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

list of homicide rates for American cities to achieve another distinction for herself. And yet murder is treated as lightly as though it were an indiscretion. Only one man has gone to the chair in three years, out of the dozens who took the lives of others, and of course that one made the fatal mistake of killing a police officer. The only man to receive life imprisonment in this same period was the other Negro who had a part in that officer's death.

Within the present decade, Charleston's homicide rate has been twice that of Chicago and four times that of New York. And it steadily maintains the appalling level, year in and year out, of twice to three times the national homicide rate.

In 1939, up to November, there had been twenty-two killings, in only two of which had any defendant been brought to trial. Charleston's population (1930 census) is 62,265.

Fours years imprisonment seems adequate here for confessed manslaughter, and twelve years is too long a time to shut up a murderer. Men who have killed deliberately and brutally are turned back into the fold again.

Of course most of this murder is black and is therefore unimportant. So are the slashings and cuttings that are dropped before they ever come to trial. They are everyday occurrences. These crimes are stark and violent. They would reveal more horror than a whole circulating library of murder fiction. Weapons are generally ice picks (which are outnumbering the open-blade razor), jagged broken bottles, flaming hurled lamps, and other remarkable and terrible instruments of death.

In Charleston it is commonplace for a man to lose his life over a woman, a jest, a string of catfish, or a dime.

Stealing goes on in the Riviera-like climate with great abandon. Bicycles alone provide a ten-thousand-dollar-a-year racket.

There is no room here to describe the extraordinary absolutions given fine white gentlemen who do away with thousands and thousands of dollars of other people's money. Even robbing the mails is respectable.

All this lack of concern about crime must surely be part of the "cultural tradition." Charleston is too busy doing nothing gracefully to bother about such things. Moral indignation is as prevalent as snow blindness.

But there is indignation of another sort. It may safely be said that no place on earth is capable of such concerted and violent indignation as Charleston. The town grows apoplectic with indignation when criticized in any way. The old city is allergic to criticism, no matter how honest or indisputable. It is regrettable but manifestly true that Charleston hates criticism far more than crime.

Not Government—Just the Circus

Charlestonians are also aroused from the fine art of inertia when there is an election. Then it takes the Sumter Guards and the fire hoses to calm them down again. Charlestonians bring more zest to their politics than they do to anything else.

The only time there is a quickening in the air is when an election is about to take place. Men live on politics then, and women are caught up in their enthusiasm. An election means a battle, open or hidden. And these people love it. They wouldn't have their politics cleaned up for anything in the world. That would rob them of their one great pleasure. An honest election would be a joyless thing.

So Charleston laughs and boasts about her crooked politics, her slick politicians, her famous battles at the polls. Politics is king in Charleston.

Local political medicine men always put on a good show. They know what is expected of them. The whole thing is as traditional as Punch and Judy, and the last act of the drama is always the frenzied and outraged demand for a recount.

An index of the intelligence and the temperament of too many Charlestonians is the abysmal stuff they applaud at the hustings. It is remarkable that occasionally a good man is elected to some position of trust or prominence. What a man can swallow politically is a fair test of his so-called ideals and standards. A Charlestonian of those other days or of the mythical Charleston would gag on such political claptrap as befouls the balmy air of the city in these times.

No platform or plan is ever put before the voters, but a long-drawn-out dog fight is waged, in which each candidate tries to outdo the rest in crude and extremely stupid backwoods invective. Cultured people would not listen to such stuff and certainly not so avidly and with such apparent pleasure. People of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mettle and great standards would chase the inept brayers of these asininities from Charleston's rostrums.

In South Carolina there is performed a unique campaign circus. All candidates for the various political jobs must tour the State together and hold joint meetings at which all must put on their act. This makes for political cataclysms that leave the entertainers limp and the voters hoarse and feverish.

Charleston squirms with expectancy before the local meetings and turns out en masse, armed with fierce prejudices and fervent affiliations. Nothing matters so much as an election, and may the best showman win.

Senator Cotton Ed Smith recently made the marshes of the Ashley River resound with the cries of White Supremacy and made his opponents seem about as big as so many hominy grits. As long as Cotton Ed travels with the circus, the less gifted and less sincere might as well save their entrance fee. Charleston voted for him two to one, and was stirred by the old political faith he preaches with a rebel yell. If only all showmen were as good as Cotton Ed, Charleston's future and South Carolina's would frighten those of us who really love the city and the State.

Buzzard Town

Incidentally, Charleston is often said by people from the upper part of the State (who love Charleston less than they should) that the old city isn't even in South Carolina. Charleston to them is an alien domain, and currently some of these folk, who care no more for old names and colonial airs than they do for tobacco blight or trouble at the textile mills, are saying that they would like a buffer state between them and Charleston.

These people, who seldom have an ancestor to their name, used to call Charleston "Buzzard Town," because until quite recently the city dump stretched right out in the city, and the buzzards were as much a part of the "old world charm" as the narrow streets, tiled roofs, and feathery iron grillwork.

In spite of the antagonism of Up Country and Low Country, Charleston *is* in South Carolina, and her people are more like those of less pretentious sections than either realize. Ten houses don't make Charleston, nor do twenty people. And all the rest of Charleston has a common denominator with the rest of South Carolina.

Charleston suffers more from South Carolina's unique outlawing of divorce than the rest of the State, because Charleston is a seaport town and is casual about many things which set the camp-meeting section in a ferment. Charleston lawyers long for divorce even more than many a pair of ill-matched mates, but nothing can be done about it. Alimony, at least, isn't among the financial worries of Charlestonians.

It's poorness that shapes these people's lives, makes the pattern of their existence, is both the cause and effect of what they are — poorness, plus a loss of perspective, plus the belief that all things Charlestonian are good and great just because one says they are.

Obviously, this place and its people have no bond or relationship with the old Charleston or with the legendary Charleston.

At the beginning of this century, Henry James said that Charleston had an "insidious charm," that she played "a subtle trick on the visitor, but only for one day and night." After that the "feeling of tenderness for the place is gone and the truth all too plain."

The truth is plainer than ever, now. The illusion is fading fast, and the make-believe is all too obvious.

Part of the "subtle trick" Charleston plays are her seductive words: Low Country, Mistress So-and-So, Do As You Choose Alley, Strawberry Lane, and countless other charming names that are, after all, just words. Just words, too, are "blue blood," "aristocrat," "illustrious family," and all the rest. Those are dead words, belonging to dead people. Even many Charlestonians themselves are sick of *that* pretense.

The Charleston answer to criticism is often a pointing out of the things that are far from right with many a Northern and Western city or town. What Charlestonians forget is that those places have foisted no fabulous pretense on the rest of us. They are not exhibitionists and narcissists. They do not seduce us with words.

It is a fact which I for one sadly regret, but if you go looking for the Charleston that is so lovely, so glamourous in her age, in her way of living, you will look in vain. There is no such place. Charleston is a myth.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I Was a Jew

ANONYMOUS

I WAS A JEW, until a few years ago.

Now, I am not!

Many of you, the Jews whom I address, as well as many gentiles, may scoff at the notion of a Jew ever becoming a non-Jew. And my former people may blame me bitterly for changing.

Fortunately, I cannot be reached. I have changed my name. I have changed my work. I have moved into a strange region and started afresh. My past is as finally sealed as though I had died and arisen with a new personality — for it is really necessary that a Jew change some important parts of his personality when he throws off his Jewishness.

Several years of growing doubt preceded my decision that, if I were to become an American like other Americans, I could not remain the conventional Jew at the same time.

Let me tell how it was done — for the sake of you who are actively discontented with compromises.

Understand that I have little more zeal for religion than many of my Christian neighbors who no longer lay great stress on the saving of their own souls but prefer to busy themselves about bettering the lot of their fellow men in this present life. I did not have to cast off a great load of piety — but neither would many other young Jews of our land today. It is not actual piety that holds you but forms and ceremonies; and, the core of righteousness remaining the same, can you not do God and your fellow men equally good service by praying silently in your closet or dedicating some effort to noble works?

It is likely to be the *form* only that holds a Jew, at a certain period of questioning, bound within the Jewish community. I have seen many young Jews, at a certain age, inclined to question the value of old forms, inclined to rebel against the observance of old customs which cut them off from the great human family outside. But, when this critical phase has passed, most fall meekly into step and, in turn, exert pressure on a following generation to tread the old path.

To break away takes courage; for, to escape the smothering bonds of Jewry, one has actually to *run away* from almost all he holds dear.

But there is a glorious compensation: a sense of real oneness with one's chosen country!

I need not, in addressing Jews, enlarge on the pain of rebellion and self-exile, family love being so strong among the Jews.

I, having no immediate family, gained freedom without keen heartaches.

BREAKING THE BONDS

IT WAS AT A Menorah Society organization meeting, in a great Eastern university that I rose and declared my convictions. We were about to form a chapter of Jewish students among a student body that outnumbered us more than forty to one. Some seventy of us attended.

First, we were gravely addressed by a professor, a Zionist, who urged the importance of the homeland in Palestine. Next followed an instructor who disapproved Zionism. Then came an excited student, a poor Polish Jew, who spoke English badly, interlarding many words of Polish, German, and Yiddish, to the open amusement of some of our more cultivated members. But, although his speech was confused, halting, almost comical, his basic idea was correct, in my view. He held that we should call the United States, alone, our homeland.

Said he: "We are all Americans. Here we have good things. We are free. Soldiers do not rob us. Students do not spit upon us. Drunken bullies do not kick us publicly because we are Jews. This is my homeland. I am not a citizen of Palestine. I will never be. I am an American!"

Poor fellow! He doubtless realized, later, how

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hard it is for a Jew to be an American like other Americans.

But his simple declaration seemed to set off within me a great explosion of understanding. He spoke what I had felt in my heart for years. And I, being more eloquent in the English language, rose in the midst of a clamor against him and managed to gain the floor.

Said I: "I also am a Jew — but now I have become an American. I say it is wrong not only for us who are Americans to make little of our blessings in this country and cry for a return to a desert now owned by others, but it is even more wrong that we should be gathered here tonight at all — gathered together *as Jews*, dividing ourselves from the rest of the student body and faculty. I say we do wrong to shout continually that we are Jews. Do other Americans always cry that they are Methodists or that they are Catholics or that, their fathers and mothers having been Irish, they must always think and act as Irish and marry Irish wives and give their charity and their trade to Irish? For my part, I also remember persecution; and I am so grateful to this country where opportunity opens before me that I want to be a real American first and a Jew only second — and even that quietly, not thrusting it in the face of everyone in many strange ways different from those of other Americans."

Then the Zionist speaker, who felt that the word of an elderly professor must be final, retorted, "If you take that attitude, how can you call yourself a Jew at all?"

And the anti-Zionist instructor pronounced solemnly, "It is only by standing together that we have always maintained our peculiar culture in the midst of rude, inimical cultures."

Whereupon I instantly made my decision, declaring, "Very well — I choose to be an American," and walked out.

And, although I could not make my formal severance that day or even that spring, I did make it the following summer, at the cost of abandoning my credits at that and other universities to enter, later, a new school, by examination, under my new name.

For, having made my decision, I went through with it determinedly — the more easily since I had no kin in America nearer than cousins and uncles and aunts. For young Jews, sheltered and dearly loved in a family, my course might be too hard.

So I changed my name, legally, and invented for myself a false history, claiming to be descended of non-Jewish Adrianople Turks. The dislocation of boundaries following several wars and the shrinkage of Turkey in Europe, made it impossible to disprove my story.

Was this elaborate lying necessary? Yes. For otherwise, you, my Jewish brethren, would have pulled me back into your community or else punished me for my desertion; while the gentile world would have accepted me on sufferance, as a "renegade" Jew. The disguise was indispensable.

Therefore I cut all connection with Jewish life. I have never been in a Jewish synagogue since nor visited with a Jewish family (except as a "gentile" friend) — and how strange it felt, at first, to be *shut out*, to be alien, not trusted, not accepted as before. But the experience only brought home to me the false position of any man who tries to be an American in the fullest sense while maintaining the rigid rule of Jewish life. I say the harmonizing of the two is too difficult for most individuals.

In a fervor of Americanism, I went west, into new country, and tried a variety of callings but shunned the Jewish favorites: finance and commerce and the law and medicine and teaching (which last had been my youthful aim). In succession, I was a garage mechanic, stake man on a survey gang, farmhand, crop-share farmer, laborer and later foreman on a riprap gang along the Mississippi, and other things. And it has been glorious. I have not despised the work of my hands; I have sweated and grunted and conquered at hard labor; I have built up something that could be seen at the end of a season and existed not merely in a bankbook. And I have everywhere been accepted as an equal, despite my slight accent and rather dark complexion and the Balkan ancestry I claimed.

Then, with two years of real work behind me and savings enough to carry me through school, I boned furiously, passed my exams, and entered a Western university as an American — a simple unclassified American. The stiff-necked may sniff at my new attitude; but I assure you that it was wonderful to live a life that is closed to most Jews.

I graduated from the university and married shortly thereafter. I am now raising children who need never learn to endure snubs, who will never be tempted to retaliate against cruel

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

discrimination. From this pleasant sunshine, I look back with horror at the somber world in which my race-proud kin persist on their ancient and unhappy courses. Life is good. I never regret my step.

A Choice to Make

But some may object: "Being a Jew is not just having a special religion or following certain customs or living in a special community, socially and commercially. It is a matter of *blood!*" — this triumphantly — "and you cannot change that!"

Important, if true — but it is not true.

Non-Jewish scholarship indicates that the Jews are a mixed people, even since pre-Christian times; that the supposedly "Jewish" nose is really a Hittite nose — and far from universal; that Arabs and Greeks, Egyptians and Berbers, and many others blend in the Jewish "race." For example, tens of thousands of Slavs, many centuries ago, are reported as going over in a body from paganism to Jewish religion and custom — and who can count their modern descendants? At the same time, an uncounted number of Jews have gone over to Islam and Christianity. A considerable number have progressed to a rationalized "ethical culture" or to various shades of agnosticism. Anyhow, this transfer has been so great that many of the noble houses of England and of the Continent stem from Jewish "apostates" — maybe even one or more of the royal houses. Also, it is alleged by some investigators, with a fair show of evidence, that modern Freemasonry is derived from a protective political organization of ex-Jews and secret Jews. In any case, the interchange of blood has been so great that a claim or an accusation of pure blood, on either side, is folly. The argument by blood reduces to absurdity. Jew and gentile are both mongrel — and the better, both, for the mixture.

And, since mere religion, practiced individually as such, need not divide man from his fellows, the charge of *difference*, hurled at the Jews, and the boast of difference uttered by them, both rest, finally, on clannishness and custom.

Is it, to the Jews, worth the price?

The time has now come when all Jewry and all its thinking individuals must face the alternatives, as so often in the past: either to persist in Jewish ways, living like semialiens in the land of their sojourn, or to attempt conformity to the customs of the land that gives them shelter, safety, and liberty.

Woe to them who choose the old and painful and arrogant course, insisting on their position, unique and lofty, as God's children. Can they not recognize that such an attitude is an affront, sure to lead to hatreds and reprisals? Do they not resent the scornful attitude of many gentiles, who openly despise them for their differences? And why blame the gentiles for their scorn when the Jews also, even in their choice of the title, God's Chosen, by implication cast all others into inferiority?

Repaying scorn with scorn has never brought the Jewish people anything but hatred, persecution, misery. That attitude is not noble; it is merely silly!

My advice to my onetime fellow Jews is: Cease to favor your family to the furthest connections, as against all outsiders. It is not the custom of modern America — and you claim to be and should be Americans. Note that the children of other immigrants — Irish, Scotch, English, Scandinavian — put aside their old allegiance (at least in the second generation and beyond) and actually *become* Americans. Can you do that?

In the mass, you refuse to be assimilated or to let individuals like myself be assimilated, unless by stealth or at a price in ostracism. You persist in being unlike other Americans. Your folkways are different from the national ways; your religious days are not the same; your attitude to women and the family, while commendable, is patriarchal; even your food is different — and *you glory in your differences*. With a tenacity that would be admirable if exerted in a better cause, you cling to a thousand little things that differentiate you from the people around you — and then you have the temerity to complain when they also treat you as different — and not (since every nation and culture naturally thinks its own ways best) as superior.

In other times, Jews were *forced* to be different. It is probably true that many of the shortcomings of Jews today can be traced to past persecution; but you are not being persecuted in the United States; rather, you are being given every possible chance to live an American life.

Can you recover ancient dignities? Can you go back beyond the grasping, furtive, terror-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ized ghetto dwellers of the dark years, beyond such humble and desperate coin collectors as my own unhappy father was, in the land of his degradation and persecution? Can you become again brave, upstanding farmers and shepherds and builders, soldiers and statesmen and engineers, as were our remote forebears? A few have done it, here, to their glory and the glory of our country. Jewish youth in Palestine has proved its mettle, if no more has been accomplished there.

There is nothing you *might* not do, as individuals, with such wit and industry and tenacity as is your heritage — and mine. But, unhappily, the rank and file of the Jewish people in this country, as in others, hold one another back.

Only a leadership brutally frank can save you, as individuals, by driving you out of the compact herd; can induce you to put behind you that past which is no more suited to your needs, today, than would be bronze battle axes and skull drinking cups to the descendants of the old Saxons.

Take pride in the past: in the arts and sciences you helped to save through the Dark Ages, in the great abilities that are your priceless heritage. But live, in this time, like your neighbors — not as aliens forever! You cannot be medieval-minded Jews and, at the same time, good Americans.

Take your choice — while there is one to take.

I have taken mine.

Democracy's New Mirror

***by* ROBERT R. UPDEGRAFF**

THE CHIEF WEAKNESS of our democracy, as Lord Bryce pointed out in *The American Commonwealth*, is that it lacks a way of discovering how the public stands on any given issue or personality except by infrequent elections or expensive referendums. "The machinery for weighing or measuring the popular will from week to week or month to month," he went on to observe sadly, "has not been, and is not likely to be, invented."

Bryce had prophetic vision but without the faith of his foresight. Fifty years after these words were written, we have the machinery. It is popularly symbolized at the moment by a man, Dr. George Gallup, and a magazine, *Fortune*. Gallup is the founder and director of the American Institute of Public Opinion. *Fortune* now publishes each month, except during the summer, a survey of public opinion engineered by Elmo Roper.

With these two mirrors over America, we no longer need to take the word of politicians, editors, or lobbyists. The twenty powerful self-interest groups operating in Washington are thus becoming outmoded, as well as the leaders of the pressure blocs, whose habit it has been to claim, "I represent eight million American farmers or clubwomen or consumers."

A few months ago, representatives of one militant minority went before a Congressional committee to demand, "in the name of the people," that a certain bill be killed. "But the Gallup poll shows the people want this bill," said a member of the committee. And the astonished delegation shortly found itself out in the corridor, wondering why it had made the trip.

Not long ago I went to find out how Washington felt about the polls. I talked with senators, representatives, newsmen, lobbyists,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

columnists, candidates for the presidency, politicians, and bureaucrats.

This is what I found: that, from the White House to the Hill and down through departments and bureaus, Washington follows the polls — avidly. "Are they taken seriously?" I asked. "*Very*," everyone agreed.

I slipped into the Senate gallery. Senator Bilbo had the floor. Hardly was I settled in my seat when I heard him say, "Mr. President, my amendment is an attempt to meet the demand of the American people as it has been evidenced by various polls taken by Mr. Gallup. . . ." The *Congressional Record* is liberally sprinkled with the name of Gallup, and the *Fortune* survey has figured importantly in Congressional debates.

The attitude of members of Congress ranges from enthusiasm to vehement denunciation, from the feeling that the polls are "a great instrument of democracy" to the conviction that they are "the most dangerous development in our political history."

Some of the most common objections are:

That the man in the street cannot be expected to make an intelligent decision on an abstract issue, "involving almost metaphysical considerations," as one objecting senator expressed it.

That the publication of the vote on any issue tends to "set" the public mind and discourage debate.

That the polls on candidates threaten to supplant party conventions. "The next presidential candidates will be nominated by Dr. George Gallup," one prominent congressman told me heatedly.

That the sample is not large enough to be representative.

The more objective Washington students of public-opinion polls counter:

Concerning the unfitness of the masses to pass on abstract issues, one very practical politician summed up the case dryly: "They've been doing that right along, every election day for a century and a half."

As to the sample not being large enough, that objection is answered on election day: the polls are either right or they are not. To date their record has been excellent. *Fortune's* forecast of the popular vote in the 1936 presidential election was accurate within seven tenths of one per cent! Gallup took the poll by States and predicted electoral-college votes. He was off by just one State in his "sure" column — New Hampshire going Democratic in the final count.

The objection that public-opinion polls might supplant the national party conventions was brushed aside by a hard-shell Republican: "Perhaps they ought to. The conventions have been notorious for not reflecting the will of the rank-and-file voters."

In rebuttal to the frequently heard objection that the polls tend to "set" people in their decisions, one practical politician declared: "On the contrary, they are made before the public mind gets too set, and they tell us fellows how to use our efforts to the best advantage. The polls stir up *more* debate, centered on the really *important* issues."

II

Not a few in Washington are, of course, confused by the polls. "I'm elected to represent my district," one earnest member of the House told me, "and I figure that, being down here where I can look into all aspects of a bill or an issue, I should speak for my constituents, not they for me. I aim to be a leader, not a rubber stamp."

Friends of the polls point out realistically that in the past there has been more logrolling than leadership, that representatives have not truly represented — perhaps because it has been too hard to find out just what their constituents wanted. To trust to his party friends or to the articulate minority which writes or wires is not true representation.

Almost everyone who is against the polls concludes as a clincher, "I've never known a single individual who has actually been interviewed."

Gallup smiles at that one:

Even in a ten thousand sample, with sixty million eligible voters we wouldn't be covering more than half a million in a year. The probability of striking you or even one of your neighbors is remote on a basis of averages.

During the recent session of Congress, a resolution was introduced by Representative Pierce of Oregon to investigate the polls. Representative Pierce had also introduced a bill to prohibit the use of the mails for straw votes. His objection is: "One person out of five is a 'band wagon' voter and will always vote on what promises to be the winning side."

Gallup points out that, if this theory were correct, then between the publication of an election forecast and Election Day there would be a rise of 20 per cent in the popularity of the winning candidate. Actually, he has made scores of postelection checks, and there is *never* any such rise. This checks the experience of Roper, whose remarkable prediction in 1936 was made a month before Election Day.

In Washington I encountered the firm belief that, sooner or later, the public-opinion polls will flop on an election, as did the *Literary Digest*.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Roper and Gallup feel that there is only a remote possibility of this. There is, of course, always the chance that some bad political blunder or some dramatic event will switch voters at the last minute. Gallup estimates that the Roosevelt speech on the eve of the New York gubernatorial election of 1938 changed 1 per cent of the voters from Dewey to Lehman, literally at the eleventh hour. The Institute had publicly given the edge to Dewey, but Gallup made a hasty, small-sample recheck the next day and, on the night before election, came out with a statement revising the previous prediction and calling the change with amazing accuracy.

Foretelling elections involves a prediction not only of the actual division of the preference between candidates but also of the number of voters who will go to the polls and the tricky question whether the voters on one side are more likely to go to the polls than those on the other side. In an election in which people are uninterested, such a minor factor as the weather on Election Day might throw the vote one way or the other. But both Roper and Gallup feel that, if the people are really interested in an election, they have nothing to fear. It has been predicted that the undecided voter will one day be the Waterloo of the polls, but both men find, in checking scores of elections, that on Election Day the "undecideds" invariably divide almost equally between the candidates.

Thus even the imponderables can be measured with increasing accuracy as experience grows. The Institute has now covered 125 State and local elections to perfect its technique. It was wrong in six State elections in 1936 but it has not been on the wrong side in a single election since. This, together with *Fortune's* record, indicates that the danger period is past.

51658

III

THE INSTITUTE has a regular field staff of approximately seven hundred. They are carefully instructed just how many people to interview in each of six main classifications and in a score of secondary classifications, in order to get an accurate cross section.

Roper has a staff of eighty odd trained interviewers. In New Hampshire, I talked with one of them. She is a farmer's wife, a Wellesley graduate of 1915. I have known her for ten years. Day after day she goes out in her car "surveying," calling on seventy-nine people each month, this number divided among men and women, old and young, in each of the economic groups specified in her instructions.

There is considerable difference between Gallup's technique and Roper's, but both men have learned that all questions must be carefully pretested, revised, and retested before their field forces are started out. Roper has four men who do nothing but test questions. When a term or an issue is abstract or complicated, these specialists work for days interviewing people in all walks of life, until they hit on a term or phrase which seems to mean the same thing to everyone.

In the 1936 election, for example, Roper's interviewers did not ask a single voter whether he was going to vote for Roosevelt but instead asked five questions in the following manner:

> With which of the following statements do you agree?
>
> (a) Roosevelt's re-election is essential for the good of the country.
>
> (b) Roosevelt may have made mistakes, but there is no one else who can do much good.
>
> (c) Roosevelt did many things that needed doing, but most of this usefulness is now over.
>
> (d) About the worst thing that could happen to this country is another Roosevelt administration.
>
> (e) Don't know.

It was on the basis of these "attitude" questions that *Fortune* predicted the election within seven tenths of one per cent.

For 1940, Gallup will carry his sample as high as sixty thousand, and some nine hundred interviewers will be employed. But neither Gallup nor Roper thinks the number of people interviewed is as important as the proper cross section.

Gallup explains:

> Cross-section surveys do not place their chief reliance upon numbers. The technique is based on the fact that a few thousand voters *correctly selected* will faithfully reflect the views of millions. Elaborate precautions must be taken to secure the views of members of all political parties — of rich and poor, old and young, of men and women, farmers and city dwellers, persons of all religious faiths — voters of all types living in every State. And all must be included *in correct proportion*. A thousand people would tell the story, if we could be sure of the right thousand.

IV

OPINION SAMPLING began in the field of commerce and industry, but even there the

DRURY COLLEGE LIBRARY

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

science is still in infancy. Merchants or manufacturers in the future will guess less and less about their products or services or their relations with their workers. They will carry on public-opinion audits in the matter-of-fact way they now audit their books. "There is no reason," says Gallup, "why even a neighborhood merchant should not *know* what the people of his neighborhood think of his store and run it accordingly."

The value of the poll technique is plain from the New York World's Fair attendance record. For the first months the attendance was below the optimistic estimates. Yet it conformed closely to the results of a Gallup poll taken in January, 1939, when a cross section of the population was asked whether it was "definitely sure" it would go to the Fair.

Roper declares that, in the future, colleges, associations, churches, and similar institutions will shape their programs and policies around carefully conducted polls:

> The day is near when State and city officials will employ objective outside agencies to test public opinion not merely to insure re-election, but to administer their offices efficiently.

One unfortunate thing about both polls is that too much emphasis has been placed on them as election prophets. While the election polls do form the best way of periodically testing their accuracy, the greatest future value of the polls will be in the periods between elections, when we are making up our minds.

Democracy is not a mere matter of Election Day. It is not a day at all but a process. Election forecasting is the spectacular side of mirroring public opinion, but it is the week-by-week reflection of the public mind on the important questions affecting public welfare which gives the new technique its greatest potential value. "Events do not wait on elections, nor does public opinion stay put," says Gallup. "New facts and factors are being introduced constantly, and we need to know the people's will at all times."

Means are being perfected now whereby the polls can reveal not only public opinion on an issue but the *intensity* of the feeling — not only how the voters feel but how their feelings may moderate or increase.

In the current war situation we are able to measure for the first time the impact of events and propaganda on public opinion. To this end both polls are now repeating several questions relating to our attitude toward the war, in identical form at regular intervals, so that at any given time the exact state of the public's will may be known to Congress and the President — a knowledge which was not available during the critical months of the Wilson Administration. Certainly the polls are being watched as never before in Washington — and across the seas, as well.

If eventually we should be drawn into the war, both Gallup and Roper are emphatic in stating that, before they would permit their polls to be corrupted for propaganda purposes, they would suspend.

Barring so unfortunate a situation, the worst thing that is likely to happen is a serious failure in some election forecast. Would that be their doom? By no means — any more than the death of a dozen patients ended medicine's determined efforts to perfect a scientific method of preventing infection. Both Gallup and Roper would regard an election failure merely as an unfortunate setback, methodically go about finding a way to eliminate the error, and then set out doggedly to rebuild public confidence. For these two pioneers look on the sounding of public opinion not as a clever guessing game but as an infant science.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Education and Democracy

by **ROBERT M. HUTCHINS**

A GREAT CHANGE has come over the economic system since I graduated from college. A great change has come over the educational system, too. In those far-off days it was still possible to think that merely graduating from college would guarantee the graduate financial independence and social success. The college man, we felt, was pretty sure to get rich, and he was certain to be more welcome at parties — house, garden, stag, and political — than one who had not enjoyed his educational advantages. These superstitions were shared by our parents and by the bulk of the population. The fact that there was not the slightest evidence for them did not prevent them from being the determining factor in the maintenance of college enrollments.

We know now that graduation from college does not carry with it the promise that the graduate will even be able to earn a living, to say nothing of acquiring great wealth. And as Gilbert and Sullivan pointed out long ago: when everybody has a college degree, nobody can claim any social superiority because of his. The long depression and the fertility of alma mater have undermined the superstitions of my youth. The college graduate today cannot imagine that either profit or prestige was handed to him with his diploma.

Perhaps this is just as well. Professor Tawney has said, "If a man has important work and enough leisure and income to enable him to do it properly, he is in possession of as much happiness as is good for any of the children of Adam."

The trouble is that the university cannot even assure the graduate important work. He may be doomed to the performance of routine tasks which, however important in keeping the wheels of civilization turning, do not always seem important to those whose daily burden they are. The mechanization of life may have enlarged leisure; it has certainly helped make the hours of work dull, monotonous, and, to the worker, insignificant.

We must recognize, then, that the college graduate may never make a nickel that he would not have made if he had never gone to college, that his education will not hoist him by so much as a single rung up the social ladder, and that with the finest degree in America he may have to support himself by pushing buttons eight hours a day. This may be disturbing to those brought up in the superstitions on which I was nourished. But they have too long obscured the true purposes of education and its true rewards. They are dangerous to educational institutions and misleading to their students.

How long can colleges and universities expect donors and taxpayers to give up their money so that other people may try to learn how to make money? How long can they expect them to part with vast sums so that the youth of America may learn to wear the right clothes, know the right people, and have a good time? And, since no college or university can possibly guarantee either financial independence or social success, it perpetrates a fraud on its students if it permits them to cherish the superstitions of which I have spoken. The disappearance of these superstitions clears the way for the search for the reasons for higher education and the results that may be expected of it.

II

ONE OF THE MOST obvious answers is that higher education should help the graduate make intelligent use of the leisure which thoughtless engineers and a blind economic system have given him. (Mme. de Sévigné tells the story of a little dog that belonged to the sister-in-law of Louis XIV. This little dog had one remarkable characteristic. Whenever it saw a book, it would run and hide under the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bed. Our population bears a distressing resemblance to this interesting animal.) We spend our new and perhaps unwelcome leisure in sleep, at the movies, in playing bridge, in drinking, and in driving up and down the crowded highways, catching glimpses of the countryside between billboards. Higher education can confer the capacity to read, to distinguish what is worth reading from what is not, to enjoy reading what is, and the habit of doing it. It can confer, too, the ability to think, to distinguish what is worth thinking about from what is not, and the habit of thinking about important things in a disciplined way.

For millions of our people the day's work has become just a means of sustaining life. The life that is sustained is lived apart from the activity by which it is sustained. That life is no life at all, unless it is enriched by other activities which the day's work cannot supply. The Greek notion of the incompatibility between any gainful occupation and any intellectual one has no application today. That notion rested largely on the fact that leisure was the privilege of the few. Now that it is the dubious possession of all of us, the life the Greeks planned for the few must be led by us all. That life was an intellectual life. The intellectual life is the aim of the higher learning.

If we continue our search for the reasons for higher education, we run at once into the urgent political issues that now agitate the world. Democracy can survive economic collapse, external pressure, and the pretty pictures painted by the dictators only if the citizens understand the nature and purpose of the state. It will not suffice to have them feel very democratic or get emotional about it all or react habitually to such habitual stimuli as the flag, the national anthem, or the Fourth of July. The citizens must know. Knowledge is the aim of higher learning.

We all say we are for liberty. We have a statue of her in a conspicuous location, and the preamble of our constitution invokes her blessings upon ourselves and our posterity. Do we know what liberty is? Plato thought that when democrats talked about liberty they meant doing as they pleased. Spinoza limited it to polite expressions on matters of little practical concern. Locke talked about it negatively: liberty meant freedom from the government. Suppose someone were to say that all these views are wrong, that liberty is a positive attribute necessary to permit men to do something, namely, to live in such a way as to attain their own ends and the ends of the state. How many of our fellow citizens would know whether he was right? The answer is almost none, and the reason is that we are as vague about the ends of mankind and of the state as we are about liberty.

III

Let us look at the state first. Is its aim the glorification and enrichment of the ruler, as Machiavelli seemed to think? Is it self-preservation, as Hobbes and Spinoza thought? Is it the protection of property, as Locke thought? Or is the state an end in itself, as the fascists say? We can see that all kinds of horrors can be committed in the name of Machiavelli, Hobbes, Spinoza, and the fascists and the grossest injustice perpetrated in the name of Locke. But is our attitude anything more than a habitual, emotional response? Do we know why these things are horrible or unjust? Can we offer any rational defense of our own aims? Do we know what our own aims are? Suppose someone were to give what I think is the right answer. Suppose he were to say that the aim of the state is the common good, which is peace, order, unity, and justice, and that the common good is a means to the happiness of the people. Our fellow citizens do not know enough to know whether this is the right answer. One reason why they do not is that they have little notion what is meant by the happiness of the people.

Does the happiness of the people consist in a prolonged drunk or pipe dream? If so, the major function of government is to purvey an adequate supply of opium and alcohol. Does happiness consist in money or power? We may readily concede that there is little of it in starvation or slavery. Particularly may we agree with those who hold that a primary duty of society is to ensure a just distribution of material goods. We may be stirred, too, by the Homeric ideal of honor, which has, at least, inspirational qualities denied to Circe, the lotus-eaters, or Karl Marx.

If, though moved by Homer, we are still not content, we may say in desperation that happiness is the possession of all good things. But, if

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

we do, do we know what we mean? All the things we want seem to us good. Otherwise we would not want them. But we know we can have too much of a good thing — too much to drink, too much to eat, too many houses, too much furniture, and even, perhaps, too much money. We cannot mean that we can be happy only if we have everything. We must have in mind an order and a proportion of goods. To direct our lives we must know what is good and we must seek the goods in their order.

Suppose we say, then, that there is an order and proportion of goods. First, we want our private, individual good — our economic well-being. We want food, clothing, shelter, and a chance for our children. Second, we want that common good — that peace, unity, and justice to which I have already referred. But most of all we want what may be called our human good. We want, that is, to achieve the limit of our specifically human powers. Our specifically human powers are moral, intellectual, and spiritual. Our highest good, to which all others are only means, is the maximum development of these powers.

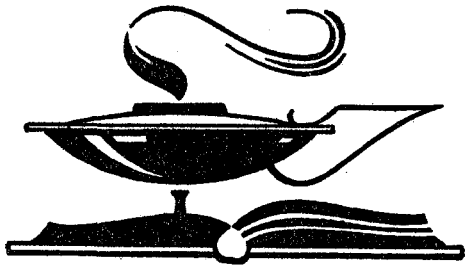
If we take this view of the goods and their order, we may find that all the problems we have been discussing fall into place. We should welcome the new leisure because it gives us a chance to order our lives in accordance with the order of goods. Though our incomes may be restricted, we have time to devote to the common good and to our own moral, intellectual, and spiritual growth.

We want liberty to seek the goods in their order. Above all, we want liberty to seek the highest good.

The state exists to help us attain the goods in their order. The state may require us to subordinate our private interests to the interest of the community. It cannot require us to sacrifice our human good to the interest of the state. On the contrary, the supreme function of the state is to promote in every possible way the moral, intellectual, and spiritual development of the people, for it is in this that their highest good consists.

If we take this view of the goods and their order, we may discover, too, the reasons for education. Education exists not merely that the rising generation may face, discuss, and, if possible, decide these questions basic to political society and human life. It exists also to provide the highest goods themselves. It exists to foster moral, intellectual, and spiritual growth. Its results should be a sound character, a disciplined mind, and an elevated spirit.

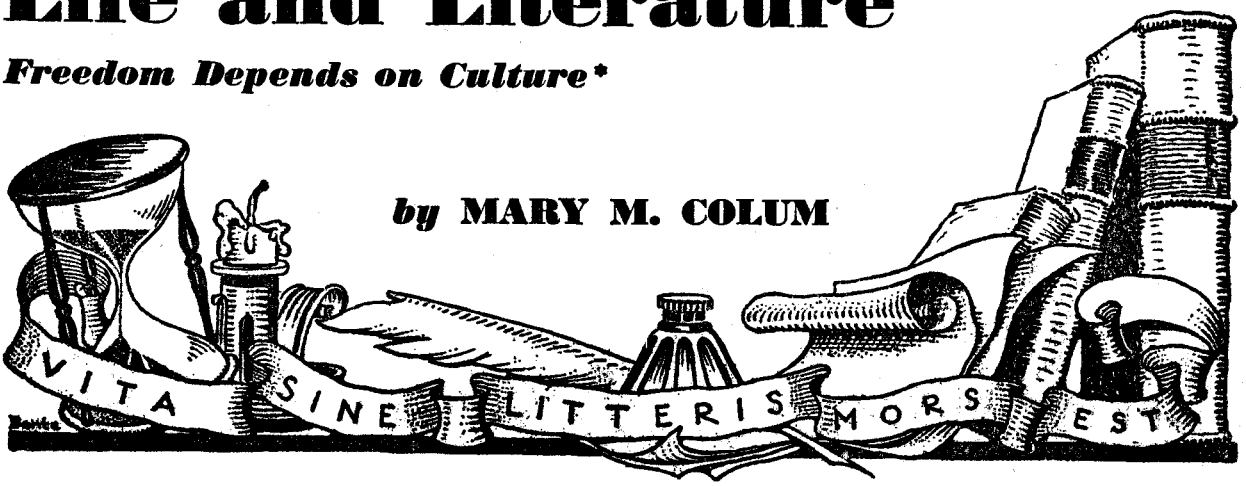
It is in these terms that higher education must be judged. Our people may properly complain at the triviality, futility, and confusion of most programs now masquerading as higher education. The colleges and universities must confess that their offerings are such as to drive their students to seek mental stimulation in gladiatorial contests, "college life," and the consumption of live fish. But, unfortunately, public complaints on these scores are neither loud nor numerous. We hear instead that the universities are not up-to-date, that they are not practical enough, and that they must have too many students because their graduates can no longer be sure of good jobs. But the test of true education is not whether the graduates are millionaires or ditchdiggers. Even if they were all ditchdiggers, they would still be the educated citizens that democracy demands if they had sound character, disciplined minds, and elevated spirits. These things true education can give. On these things democracy depends.



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Life and Literature

*Freedom Depends on Culture**



by **MARY M. COLUM**

THE BEST RECOMMENDATION for any political creed is the type of mind that it can produce, and it is a vindication — indeed, a glorification — of it that American democracy has produced the wise, tolerant, and enfranchised mind that is behind *Freedom and Culture*, the book that John Dewey has published in his eightieth year. His own definition of culture is comprehensive: For him, culture is the whole complex of conditions in which human beings in any community associate and live together; it includes law, economics, religion, science and art, the range of education, the attitudes toward friendship and family life. "Each culture has its own pattern, its own characteristic arrangement of its constituent energies." No factor can be isolated from another as, for instance, the Marxists would isolate the economic factor, without producing an absolutism that means unbalance.

We know that, no matter how much we hear about human nature's being the same everywhere, it really is not the same in important points. French culture is not the same as American culture, and German culture differs from both; this must be owing to some difference of human nature in these countries. John Dewey argues that the political state of a country depends on all the general conditions that are summed up under the name of culture. His *Freedom and Culture* is an inquiry into what kind of culture is so free in itself that it conceives and begets political freedom as its accompaniment and consequence. And the arts and the conditions under which they are created are important in the type of culture, for it is these that are a powerful factor in developing private emotion and imagination.

If one allowed one's fancies, in a way that a philosopher like John Dewey might disapprove, to play around the type of art produced in the democratic and in the totalitarian states, one might draw some interesting conclusions from the fact that, in forming the sort of culture that begets a demand for democracy, literature has had a great role. Music, on the other hand, has had a greater role than literature in the countries that are now totalitarian. In fact, "Music in the Totalitarian State" might be a good subject for one of those learned dissertations the concoction of which entitles people to write Ph.D. after their names.

THE SHAPE OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

AGAIN, WE MUST NOTE that the arts have not played the role in American culture that they have in European. However, philosophy has done so, even though in that popularized and vulgarized form that might give a professional philosopher an irritation of the nerves. But business has played the greatest role of all in producing the conditions under which the inhabitants of this country associate. John Dewey does not say this, but surely the type of democracy here has been largely decided by the fact that this is a nation where people live by producing and selling things. From this surely springs the widespread American courtesy and good manners, with indifference to the social conventions still so powerful in Europe. The tradition in Europe of a governing class

*EDITOR'S NOTE: — *The recent books discussed by Mrs. Colum in this article are:* Freedom and Culture, *by John Dewey (Putnam, $2.00);* The Fate of Man, *by H. G. Wells (Alliance, $2.50);* The Integration of the Personality, *by Carl G. Jung (Farrar & Rinehart, $3.00);* In Stalin's Secret Service, *by W. G. Krivitsky (Harper, $3.00);* Henry George, *by Albert Jay Nock (Morrow, $2.50);* Moment in Peking, *by Lin Yutang (Day, $3.00).*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which lives on other people's labors and which never had to make anything to sell to anybody explains the fantastic arrogance of manners that one, even yet, can encounter in the European democratic countries.

The peculiar nature of French democracy, where the artist and intellectual feels freer than anywhere else in the world, surely comes from the fact that French democratic ideals were so largely instituted by writers and intellectuals. The idea of democracy was anterior to the thing itself, but here in America we may say that democracy came into action before the idea of it or the philosophy of it was formulated; and this is really one of the fundamental differences between American and European democracy. Here freedoms come into operation before people formulate the idea of them. Sometimes the idea lags behind the practice, and visiting Europeans, who are inclined to judge democracy and freedom from the way people talk, often go very much astray in judging America and American democracy. To explain that, politically, America is freer and more democratic than any European country has often been difficult when the ideas that formulate that freedom had not been invented.

It is here that *Freedom and Culture* does an immense service. John Dewey makes clear the status of American political freedom; he has put a name on things that before were nameless; he explains and defines for us things that needed explanation in a country where we are poor on political definitions and explanations. He not only explains democracy but he explains totalitarianism and shows that the power of the totalitarian states does not rest on coercion, as so many of us believe; they command the imagination, "with all the impulses and motives we have been accustomed to call inner." Religious organizations also command the imagination and aim at mobilizing the inner impulses and motives, so that totalitarianism and organized religion are competitive with each other and mutually inimical.

"No regime," says Dewey, "can endure long in a country where a scientific spirit has once existed unless it has the support of so-called idealistic elements in the human constitution." For which reason it might be a part of the study of conditions under which democracy thrives to find out what it is that "commends, at least for a time, totalitarian conditions to persons otherwise intelligent and honorable." Nothing that is in humanity should be alien to consideration in a democracy. Nothing, anyhow, is, in the nonstatic type of democracy that John Dewey envisages — which is something that must perpetuate itself through differential changes in its constitution.

The most quoted political philosopher in *Freedom and Culture* is Thomas Jefferson, and this is as it should be, because none of the political philosophers speaks to our own time with as much penetration and authority as does this American of the eighteenth century. But the culture Jefferson took into account was largely an agrarian culture, with the conception of a free American as a man who ran his own farm without interference from anybody and drove his own horse and buggy without having to stop for anybody's red lights. He has given place to an American whose culture is urban and industrial, with a factory and office civilization, which means that the time has come when this culture must perpetuate itself through differential changes.

Reconditioning Mankind

While it is clear that *Freedom and Culture* has come out of the same country that produced the Declaration of Independence and could not have come out of any other form of democracy, H. G. Wells's *Fate of Man* has come out of a different conception of the democratic creed. Wells, of course, is committed to the democratic creed, and, like John Dewey, he believes that the great safeguard of democracy is in scientific knowledge. But his democratic creed has overtones of bias and resentment. From time to time we get the impression that any groups that resisted the way of salvation outlined in *The Fate of Man* might, if Wells or his adherents were in power, find themselves in a plight not so different from minorities in the totalitarian states. But nevertheless the author of *The Fate of Man* is a remarkable person, the possessor of a restless, investigating mind, with an interest in the welfare of humanity so persistent that he is everlastingly struggling to find a way of advancing what he conceives to be that welfare.

What is sound and valuable in his latest book could have been written as a pamphlet

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of about 15,000 words. Instead, he has tied up his message with half a dozen slapdash outlines in the Wells manner — outlines of what he believes to be the religious and philosophical beliefs of the major races which, with the well-known Wells condescension to everything that is alien to middle-class Anglo-Saxon mentality, he thinks are somehow crippling to the progress of humanity. But the essential part of his argument in this book is incontrovertible — that the sovereign national state has to be transcended into a world order. He persuades us that, if this new world order, with a world-wide allegiance to it, is not forthcoming soon, civilization is due to return to the Dark Ages, with a tougher barbarism than existed 1,600 years ago. To achieve this world order and the state of mind capable of realizing it, people have to be reconditioned mentally, and for this he considers that there has to be what he calls a *Kulturkampf*, a struggle to make all modern knowledge available to those who want it. This must be done, he maintains, through great encyclopedias.

For one dubious, like myself, as to how much mental training raw information and a knowledge of facts give anyone, it is hard to see how encyclopedias can prepare people for world democracy, for world citizenship. What, for example, has this sort of outline knowledge done for H. G. Wells himself? Whenever he deals with something the reader knows anything about, that reader is likely to be flabbergasted at his ignorance and prejudice. He tells us that, though his *Outline of History* has been widely attacked, nobody has been able to say that the facts were wrong. But it was his personal-minded interpretation of the facts that was so misleading. His corps of secretaries and assistants could assemble the facts; he could get the information from all the experts — but he had neither the training, the mentality, nor the enfranchisement of mind for disinterested interpretation of that information.

The Problems of the Young

However, aside from the rightness or wrongness of the assumption that making scientific and historical knowledge available to everybody will help make people world citizens, Wells has other ideas worth consideration. He focuses our minds on one cause of disturbance in our world of today — the problem of what is to be done with young men. "Every sort of energetic male human being is a potential criminal if nothing is found to occupy and interest him." In earlier periods of history, the young men were disciplined, and their numbers kept down by war. But the old wars with weapons were very simple affairs in comparison with the warfare and the complex ways of social combat that we have in our days. "People stand in the young man's way, and he is ready to get rid of them in any fashion suggested to him." All this, Wells thinks, explains the eagerness with which race difference, class difference, any sort of difference of complexion, language or usage, nationalism or imperialism, are exalted into combative provocations.

What to do all over the world with unsatisfied young men and women (it is characteristic of Wells that he considers the male sex only), with the young of both sexes who are without the possibility either of security or of adventure, is an immediate problem in every country. One of the holds of the totalitarian states is that they somehow manage to keep youth organized and interested. However we may disapprove of the "how" and the "why" of the organization and the interest, the fact remains that in these states the young men and women are made to believe that they are helping to create a new world order in which they will be leaders. If the young people in the dictator countries were not employed and interested, it is doubtful if the dictators would last a month.

Of these dictators Wells says:

> From Caesar to Stalin, democracy has been trapped into one-man tyrannies by crises. . . . One of the primary riddles of human society has been the resumption of power by the community at the end of a period of crisis.

One might suggest that the mystery behind the capitulation of sections of the human race to one-man tyrannies is not a riddle at all: it is the effort disintegrated countries make after the upheaval of war and revolution and impoverishment to get back to an ordered life. After modern war, masses of the population lose that painfully acquired morale which makes culture and civilization possible. The people, consciously and subconsciously, make every effort to recover their morale, and this opens the way for the dictator, the master of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

men, who will somehow impose order and discipline and put the people back on their jobs. It is the way of disordered humanity to look for a leader — to work and to eat become more important than to be free. If anything happened gravely to upset the morale and the working power of this country, we might be just as likely to fall for a dictator as were the nondemocratic countries.

The Problem of Human Psychology

To understand, however, what is behind the savagery, the pogroms, the executions, the concentration camps, needs something more than Wells's explanation of the surplus energies of young men and his panacea of universal encyclopedia knowledge. Some profound understanding of human psychology is called for, something far more profound than we find in H. G. Wells or even in John Dewey.

It has been a criticism made against Wells that he is always writing about the creature, man, about his future and his progress, without really comprehending what the creature is. Apropos of his panacea for the human race through the organization of modern scientific knowledge — a World Brain — these sentences from a new book, *The Integration of the Personality*, by that great psychologist, Carl G. Jung, is worth quoting:

> The clan of uprooted intellectual high-brows usually goes on in believing in permanent and universal enlightenment. That technical progress and social improvement do not mean psychological differentiation or a higher level of consciousness is a lesson we are unwilling to learn.

In fact, Jung makes it clear that the sort of knowledge which in Wells's opinion would save mankind would merely widen and fill the external mind, while, at the same time, consciousness of the inner world would become darkened. This sort of knowledge would do little to save us from the consequences of our emotions.

> Emotions are instinctive, involuntary reactions that upset the rational order of consciousness by their elementary outbursts. . . . Emotions are not made or willfully produced; they appear suddenly.

What Jung calls "normal insanity," as distinct from the sort of insanity that causes people to be incarcerated in asylums, begins when the emotions are aroused; and in our time we see the process of arousing emotions on a grand scale. Every form of mental contagion has sections of the race in its grip. Primitive superstitions have not left the human race, Jung shows us — they have only changed their names.

Most readers are aware that the new psychology conceives the conscious mind as depending on the unconscious — to put it as Jung does, "The conscious mind is based upon and results from an unconscious psyche which is prior to consciousness and continues to function together with, or despite consciousness." An emotion he considers the intrusion of an unconscious personality, and emotions are coupled with a greater or lesser loss of consciousness. People under the strain of a strong emotion, whatever it may be, are not their ordinary or normal selves. Does an emotion — anger, hatred, love — ever really disappear? No, Dr. Jung would answer — it goes back into the unconscious.

This is a sufficiently alarming thought and complicates enormously Wells's plan for a World Brain. What H. G. Wells would dismiss as superstitions — the racial beliefs, the religious rituals he would relegate to the dust heap — Jung would consider as the proper study for integrating a knowledge of humanity. For the symbols, the superstitions, the rituals, and the ceremonies that man has created are the expressions of that unconscious on which all consciousness is based. While a Wells would want to desymbolize the world in the promotion of a factual and scientific knowledge, Jung holds that a desymbolized world would produce an unhealthy sentimentality and a sharpening of the moral conflict. The desymbolizing that is taking place in the totalitarian states is by men ignorant of human psychology.

Nothing that ever came out of the human brain or the human unconscious is alien to Dr. Jung, and he has recently, with the amazing results chronicled in this book, devoted himself to the study of alchemy. Like almost everybody else, he had a prejudice against alchemy, which is vulgarly believed to have been the search for the *lapis*, the philosophers' stone, for the purpose of transmuting baser metals into gold. But Dr. Jung shows us that what the alchemist was actually dealing with was his own unconscious, and in dealing with his own unconscious he retraced the path of man's

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

developing knowledge of nature. Dr. Jung's study of alchemistic symbolism, its relation to the idea of redemption, the fact that the spontaneous imagination of one knowing nothing about alchemy can produce of itself alchemistic symbols, makes *The Integration of the Personality* a significant addition to the understanding of human personality.

The Ogpu Civilization

Almost as startling as the light alchemy can cast on the goings-on of the human race is the revelation that is contained in Walter Krivitsky's book, *In Stalin's Secret Service*. That the bulk of it or even all of it bears the marks of accuracy does not make the author seem any more admirable. He was in the Red Army intelligence service for years and took part in a good many of the sinister activities he here condemns and shows up. A psychologist like Dr. Jung would say that in the trials, the purges, the forced and faked confessions here described we behold those uncontrolled emotional manifestations which permit evil forces from the unconscious to get the upper hand.

This is a shocking story of intrigue, counterfeiting, treachery of all kinds, murder, the sinister disappearance of persons who for one reason or another incurred the displeasure of the despots who rule Russia. People are arrested on fantastic accusations, such as "Trotskyist" sympathies, and are never seen or heard of again. According to this book, the Spanish Loyalists who were not Stalinists were executed in numbers. "The successful defense of Madrid" (with Soviet aid, Krivitsky maintains), "gave the Ogpu new opportunities to extend its powers; thousands were arrested, including many foreign volunteers who had come to fight Franco." Krivitsky is now a convert to democracy and is busying himself handing out the usual platitudes on freedom which totalitarian converts seem to learn by rote, as a sort of propaganda lesson.

No regime can last long, says John Dewey, unless it is supported by idealistic elements: one hopes that these elements will be able to make themselves felt in proletarian-ruled Russia and Germany. The rule of the proletariat may have some of the advantages that its supporters claim for it, but if there is one moral above another that can be drawn from *In Stalin's Secret Service* it is that the rule of ignorant or half-educated men has nothing to be said for it at all. Once again it is brought home to us that only the most highly trained and magnanimous of men should be in the positions of rulers.

The Single Tax

With relief one turns from this fearful and debasing book back to another book on democratic philosophy, this time to Albert Jay Nock's *Henry George*. It is not a biography, but a critical essay on one who, Albert Jay Nock believes, was among the first half-dozen of the world's creative geniuses in social philosophy.

A couple of years ago a reader of this department sent me the third and fourth chapters of *Progress and Poverty;* it was the first time I ever came in contact, except at second hand, with that remarkable and prophetic book. Here is a passage which has startling appropriateness to present-day happenings:

> In the decline of civilizations, communities do not go down by the same paths as they came up. For instance, the decline of civilization as manifested in government would not take us back from republicanism to constitutional monarchy, and then to the feudal system; it would take us to imperatorship and anarchy. As manifest in religion, it would not take us back into the faiths of our forefathers, but to new forms of superstition, of which possibly Mormonism and other even grosser "isms" may give us some vague idea.

Progress and Poverty was the first and only serious attempt, Albert Jay Nock explains, to establish the cause of industrial depression and of involuntary poverty. Henry George's doctrine, to put it in an elementary form, is that the land of every country belongs to all the people of that country, as the air, the water, and the sunlight do. (Albert Jay Nock does not note that this very doctrine was put forth thirty years before the writing of *Progress and Poverty*, by an Irish revolutionary writer, James Fintan Lalor. It is obvious that the pamphlet which gave Henry George his first *réclame*, *The Irish Land Question*, was influenced by Lalor's doctrine; and George had a connection with the Irish newspapers before he wrote that pamphlet.) George made it clear that the possession of land furnished the main monopoly power: rent, which the possessors of land can and do exact, has a tendency to absorb all earnings above minimum wages. The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Astors on one side, the "sandwich" man on the other might be used to illustrate this point. A single tax, a land tax, George thought, would restore democratic equality and prosperity. Nothing actually made by man should be taxed at all. The laborer should be paid not out of capital but out of the value which he himself creates.

If all taxes were concentrated on ground rent and if people owned what they themselves created, perhaps Dickens' granddaughter would not have to earn her living in domestic service while the owners of the ground of New York perpetuate and aggrandize their fortunes from generation to generation. This is not to claim that any created property should be made perpetual but to remark that, if it isn't, why should property in land be perpetual?

The author of *Progress and Poverty* was all his life a poor and struggling man; once he was so near starvation that he borrowed a few dollars from a stranger he met on the street. And he was one of the few, as Albert Jay Nock shows us, who have passionately and at the same time carefully considered the problem of human freedom.

"Do you consider the single tax so important?" someone asked him.

"No," he answered, "but I consider freedom important, and the single tax clears the way for freedom."

For the distortion of his ideas by his disciples he was himself somewhat to blame. The culture of his time was so imperfect that it could not give him the training that would enable him to distinguish between the philosopher in himself and the salesman of panaceas.

For Albert Jay Nock, the culture that kept a great social thinker like Henry George in poverty and racking insecurity all his life is fitly represented by the characters of Dickens' satire — Mr. Murdstone in economics, Mr. Creakle in education, Rev. Josia Jupp in religion. And so we are brought again to John Dewey's thesis: freedom depends on a culture in which all the factors — economics, art, law, religion — raised to a high level, interact with each other and on human nature.

Significance of Chinese Civilization

In 'The Fate of Man,' Wells has a chapter called "The Chinese Outlook," in which he gives some space to Lin Yutang as an interpreter of Chinese life to the Western world. Lin Yutang's extensively reviewed *Moment in Peking* portrays, as Pearl Buck tells us, the full significance of our dramatic age as it has been lived in China and by the Chinese. Nowhere can a world in transition be perceived better than in this Chinese novel, for in no place has the transition been so sudden and so violent as in the China of the period covered by *Moment in Peking* — from the Boxer outbreak in 1900 to the present time. Here we see the young people changing their traditional occupations, their traditional dress, their traditional ideas. We see the girls going from immemorial household duties to studying in Europeanized colleges; we see them reading Ibsen, getting married in foreign hotels to the strains of Mendelssohn's wedding march, reacting to Japanese insolence and aggression. The people and families presented give the different religions as they are lived — Taoism, Buddhism, Confucianism — all of which Wells glances at.

The technique of *Moment in Peking* may be said to be archaic, but the treatment of character and scenes is ripe and developed. One senses behind it the whole ancient Chinese civilization — Chinese painting and Chinese poetry. The most interesting people in the various groups are the growing girls — Mulan, Moochow, Mannia, Redjade, and the maid named Silverscreen — they are presented with an insight and an engaging charm that make the heroines of Western novels seem hardly feminine.

The novel ends as Mulan is turning, with her child, toward a new China — one of the millions of refugees who are going forward "in the greatest migration in the world's history to build a new and modern state in the vast hinterland of China," singing with the soldiers:

> Never to come back
> Until our hills and rivers are returned to us.

If world citizenship is ever to be achieved, the comprehension of China by the West, the co-operation of China with the West are highly important, if only because, as Wells reminds us, the Chinese are "the greatest, the most central and representative human accumulation in the world." As Lin Yutang and Pearl Buck reveal them, they are also so attractive and sympathetic that we cannot help but be their partisans.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our Rostrum*

'True — Too True'

To the Editor:

. . . As a resident of this city for over forty years I am compelled to admit, with deep humiliation, that the factual data contained in this article ["Washington: a National Disgrace," by Merlo J. Pusey, December Forum] is true — too true. . . .

However, it is not accurate to say that progress has not been made. As one of the three persons who initiated, organized and conducted the recent referendum on suffrage referred to in this article, I can say that . . . the outcome thus obtained, a tremendous majority in favor of enfranchisement, refutes the statement made that persons here are hopelessly divided on this issue. Mr. Pusey states that civic organizations here are divided on the method to be employed to bring about relief in this situation. It is also true, as a matter of fact, that the newspapers of the city, of one of which Mr. Pusey is an editorial writer, are in exactly the same situation. It may be true, as stated, that Congress is not ready to grant suffrage in Washington, but it is nearer to the truth to state that never in the past fifty years has Congress been so inclined to support such a proposition as it is at present. . . .

. . . The statement that "throughout the depression it [the City of Washington] has been an oasis of comparative prosperity because of the expanding federal payroll" is not true, if I correctly understand the meaning of "comparative prosperity." Just a few days ago the Community Chest campaign in this city to raise $2,000,000 was completed. At the same time the nearby city of Baltimore, with a population half again as large as Washington, was busy raising its Community Chest budget for the coming year — $1,125,000. This would seem to indicate a need here out of proportion to its population, and this does not take into consideration the tremendous high cost of living existing here. . . .

I cannot agree to the accuracy of the statement that this city pays "only moderate taxes." That question needs a lot of explanation. . . . Until we are given the right of American citizens to determine our own local affairs, the blame should be placed where it properly belongs, and not on the disfranchised residents of the Nation's capital, who appeal to the remainder of the country for relief in this intolerable political situation.

. . . . . .

Harry N. Stull, *President*
Federation of Citizens' Associations
Washington, D. C.

To the Editor:

. . . Mr. Pusey's discussion of the problems of the National Capital is about the best piece of work on that subject that I have ever seen. He is absolutely right. . . . The National Capital is outstandingly free from graft and its affairs are economically administered but it is a national disgrace that its citizens are deprived of the right to vote for their President and are wholly without representation in the Congress which makes their laws and levies their taxes. The District of Columbia should by all means have a representative in Congress and certainly is entitled to participation in the Electoral College.

Arthur Capper
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Leaning on the British

To the Editor:

In the November Forum Yates Stirling ["America and the War," a symposium] says that America, having two oceans but only one navy, is depending on the British fleet "to give us the security in the Atlantic Ocean that our *one*-ocean navy finds itself unable to give."

What is to hinder America from paddling its own battleships instead of trusting the British to paddle theirs in our behalf? Depending on European powers for support is synonymous with fighting European battles, and one sure way of being suctioned into their entangling alliances.

In this same article Yates Stirling draws a clear cut picture of our oceans infested with German submarines and our sea coasts in danger of Nazi invasion once the British fleet has been routed.

But victorious or vanquished, German sea power would be in no condition to attack the United States after fighting a major sea war with the British fleet.

In the meantime let us use our time, labor, and resources to build our own naval defenses.

Edith Peterson
Burlingame, Calif.

Wrath on Both Sides

To the Editor:

In printing Mr. [Frank J.] Taylor's article, "California's 'Grapes of Wrath'" [November Forum], a very definite attempt to whitewash the whole problem of migratory labor in California, you've given emphasis to only one side of the question — the side financed by large industrial groups. One has only to read Carey McWilliams' [See also "Our Rostrum" for December, 1939. — Ed.] carefully documented book, *Factory in the Fields*, recently published, to realize the factual truth of exploited *migrant* labor. How Mr. Taylor can shut his eyes to the misery and degradation that exist — fertile ground for any subversive doctrine that promises relief — must be because his job . . . with a San Francisco firm has made him see only what is profitable to his state. He has something to sell.

. . . . . .

Maud O. Bartlett
Providence, R. I.

To the Editor:

. . . I fully believe that Mr. Taylor has entirely failed to get the significance of Steinbeck's book. . . .

. . . . . .

Mr. Taylor . . . says that Steinbeck's accusation "that State and county peace officers hound the migrants from camp to camp, to push them to strikebreaking jobs" is not true. Those of us who have lived in Southern California for a number of years will not soon forget the fact that certain officers who are sworn to protect the interests of all of our citizens not only engaged in attacks upon strikers and other interested parties, but actually boasted of having done so. As a loyal Californian, I regret as much as Mr. Taylor that these conditions exist and would be very glad, indeed, to believe that we were not storing up "Grapes of Wrath."

I fully agree that Mr. Steinbeck has overdrawn the picture in certain respects . . . but you and I know full well that important reforms have been accomplished time and again by such overdrawn pictures as those of Charles Dickens' presentation of the deplorable conditions in England at the time he wrote; Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, concerning the plight of the Negroes; and Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona*, concerning the American Indian in the West.

It is most unfortunate that anyone who is inclined to raise his voice against

---

* Editors' Note: — *These columns are open to brief letters commenting on any article or subject that has appeared in* The Forum. *Because of space limitations, the Editors must reserve the right to publish letters only in part.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the social injustices which do exist . . . should be attacked and labeled with names which seem to indicate ulterior motives.

. . . . . .

H. E. MARSH
Dean of the College
University of Redlands
Redlands, Calif.

To the Editor:

. . . Mr. Taylor has correctly indicated that it is difficult to answer fiction with fact, even though the fiction is definitely of propaganda nature. However he has set out some of the essential data which will correctly answer questions raised in the minds of the readers of *Grapes of Wrath* who may be interested in knowing if the implications of the Steinbeck novel were based upon actual conditions or were merely to increase reader interest and enhance the pocketbook of the author.

. . . Mr. Taylor's authoritative references to wages paid by California farmers, services rendered by the health departments of this State, and other welfare measures amply demonstrate that the same human sympathies influence California farmers as are to be found in the peoples of any other parts of these United States.

Those who would take the writings from the poisoned pen of Steinbeck as gospel and thus be influenced to think of California as a race apart should remember that California more than any other part of the Union is made up of people who have come to us from other parts of the Nation.

Our farmers are not land barons descendent from the early owners of Spanish or Mexican grants. Rather, they are a fine, energetic people who have come to us from Oklahoma, Arkansas, Kansas, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New England and from the South and every other part of this country. Mr. Taylor has well charted California's care of this more recent flood of immigrants at great expense to those of our citizens who are already here but our ability to increase the burden is limited.

. . . . . .

HOWARD A. MILLER, *Manager*
Agricultural Department
Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce
Los Angeles, Calif.

ON THE ST. LOUIS FRONT

Condensed reactions (some necessarily anonymous) of residents of the Midwest metropolis of booze and shoes to Charles Edmundson's article, "St. Louis — a City in Decay," in the November FORUM:

¶ With much of the article I agree; but I see many tangible signs of change and believe that the city is in a state of transition rather than in decay. All of us are inclined to see the blemishes and it is hard to keep a clear perspective. — J. LIONBERGER DAVIS, *Chairman of the Board of the Security National Bank.*

¶ The title of the article is rather comprehensive because I think a good many very fine interests are being very successfully served in our midst. If only the political situation is had in mind the charge is largely true. We have had our ups and downs, and I should say that one of our chief difficulties is the disposition to look to some hero, such as Mr. Folk was, to enjoy the support of an aroused populace and to let him drop out after he has enjoyed his success. The fact of the matter is that we can't save our institutions by talking about them and we don't seem to be quite ready to make them part of our real life.

¶ This town is so full of deadheads, so unresponsive to anything progressive, that if our business was not established here we would consider moving away.

¶ I have just been rudely awakened from a long dream, and "Oh, Boy! am I peeved?" I find upon reading an article written by a staff member of one of our GREAT newspapers and republished in this same newspaper, that I have been awakened from this long dream — only to find that I have been living in a City of decay and no one is doing anything about it, except this same newspaper, but so far, all they have done is TALK ABOUT IT.

¶ In loyalty for my City, it behooves me to voice my protest. I do not deny that St. Louis has many problems but to lay them at the door of our City Hall is but a political camouflage to evade the real issue. The manner in which our Mayor conducted himself when subjected to attacks of unwarranted origins bespeaks the honor and respect he holds for his office and the trust we St. Louisians have put in him. I point with pride to the achievements of the present administration. When the beam of indifference, intolerance and prejudice is removed from our eyes then we will see more clearly how to cast out the mote in our brother's eye. — LOIS LYNN JOHNSON.

¶ Please allow me to extend my most sincere congratulations. St. Louis is not only a city in decay but a "Hades" in disguise. I find only one fault with your article and that is that it furnishes only about one half of one percent full details.

A VOLLEY AT MISS LUNDBERG

To the Editor:

It is very doubtful that your able editorial, "Safety Valves for Democracy" [October FORUM], will be sufficiently convincing to your readers to justify you in following it up with the extremely undemocratic article, "Apostles of Defeat — Bad Advice from Foreign Statesmen Out of Work" [by Isabel Lundberg, also October].

. . . . . .

In what effort have these "apostles" been defeated; and what was the cause of their defeat? And what "bad advice" are we receiving from these "foreign statesmen out of work"?

It seems to this long-time reader of THE FORUM, that this heading alone contains more nasty and dangerous dictator propaganda than any like number of words I have ever read at any time or in any publication.

And if it had been planned by the German Propaganda Ministry, itself, it could not have come at a more opportune time — to aid them in furthering their beastly and brutal work.

. . . . . .

"Frankly, it may be doubted whether a single one of these defeated politicians, in college or out, has anything to teach us — except the lesson of his own failure."

Is it possible that a person who has at least sufficient intelligence to have her writing accepted by a Liberal magazine of national circulation can have the crust to think that she would not be able to learn anything about democracy or democratic ideals from these "defeated politicians"?

I believe that a subtle, poisonous article like this, printed in a magazine in which we should be able to place confidence, is more dangerous than the harangues of our Father Coughlins, our Gitlows, or mass meetings of the German-American Nazis in Madison Square Garden of which your editorial makes mention.

I also believe that if you print the letters which you should receive in opposition to this undemocratic tirade, you will go a great way toward squaring yourself with your readers.

HARRY WARMKE
San Jose, Calif.

Tirade or not, Miss Lundberg's article drew forth some tirades. THE FORUM *feels no need to square itself with its readers, since "Apostles of Defeat" (no insult to readers' intelligence, whatever its violence to their opinions) has roused the healthy controversy which* THE FORUM *aims to provoke. Other comments, in part:*

I am a refugee myself, enjoying the great hospitality of this wonderful country. Even Miss Lundberg, who hunted through the whole literature written on or by refugees, did not bring one remark in which an emigré tried to influence the government or the public to interfere in

(*continued on page* XII)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Forum Quiz

This Quiz is designed especially for FORUM readers — to please them but not to measure their intelligence. The questions should not be difficult for the average person. They cover both the light and the serious aspects of politics, science, sports, business, and the arts. Many FORUM readers find the Quiz a stimulating source of entertainment when friends drop in or at parties. Counting 2½ points for each correct answer, GABRIEL HEATTER, radio commentator, scored 82½. A physician scored 72½, a housewife 70. Answers on page xii of advertising section.

1. "My *Weltschmerz* is bothering me again," says Cousin Herbert, who is inclined to be moody and out of sorts anyway. "Well," you reply, wisely:
(*a*) *"Take some bicarbonate of soda."*
(*b*) *"Your emotional life is your own affair."*
(*c*) *"Hmm; Goethe had it, too. Very sad."*

2. One hears the word "furlong" mentioned often in racing circles, but do you know how far a furlong is?
(*a*) *⅛ mile* (*b*) *1¼ miles* (*c*) *½ mile*

3. In but one of these sentences is the word *banderillero* used correctly. Can you tell which one?
(*a*) *Even Cubans can't play the* banderillero.
(*b*) *The* banderillero *enrages the bull.*
(*c*) *Those* banderilleros *make women seem taller.*

4. What with constant purging, it's hard to know who may be Russia's Commissar of Foreign Affairs tomorrow, but today the gentleman's name is:
(*a*) *Molotov* (*b*) *Yezhov* (*c*) *Rykov* (*d*) *Litvinov*

5. We all know what R.S.V.P. means now on invitations, but do you recall what it meant originally?
(*a*) *Remember to supply victuals personally.*
(*b*) *Don't bring your wife.* (*c*) *Drinks on the house.*
(*d*) *Let us know if you can come.*
(*e*) *Dress formally.*

6. At a recent intimate Hollywood party (only four hundred guests), Omar Khayyám, the poet, started to recite some of his verses, then forgot the words. Could you have helped Omar out?

A Book of Verses underneath the Bough,
. . . . . — and Thou
Beside me singing in the Wilderness —
Oh, Wilderness were Paradise enow!

(*a*) *A pale Moon, a Jug of Wine*
(*b*) *A Mug of Beer, a Slice of Cheese*
(*c*) *A full Moon, a warm Couch*
(*d*) *A Jug of Wine, a Loaf of Bread*
(*e*) *Some fried Chicken, a Coca-Cola*

7. He sits now in a New York brownstone house, talking irritably, occasionally shouting and screaming, bitter at a world which ignored him as a painter for fifty-five years and, when it is now too late to matter, has beaten a path to his door. His name:
(*a*) *Charles Sheeler* (*b*) *John Sloan*
(*c*) *Louis Eilshemius* (*d*) *Eugene Speicher*

8. You can tell who made a piece of old silver by its:
(*a*) *Plimsoll mark* (*b*) *hallmark* (*c*) *trade-mark*

9. Aunt Clytemnestra was recently discussing her impending engagement with her beau, Herkimer. "Why," boasted Auntie, "it's practically a *fait accompli*." She meant:
(*a*) *"Herkimer simply swept me off my feet."*
(*b*) *"My marriage is as good as achieved."*
(*c*) *"Ah, Herkimer! so daring, so impetuous."*

10. And the principal export of Cuba is now:
(*a*) *rum* (*b*) *the* rumba (*c*) *daiquiris*
(*d*) *sugar* (*e*) *swizzle sticks* (*f*) *rice*

11. Next to Paulette Goddard, Charlie Chaplin's main interest these days is the new film he's making based on the life of:
(*a*) *Napoleon* (*b*) *F. D. R.* (*c*) *Caesar* (*d*) *Hitler*

12. Proportional representation enables a voter to:
(*a*) *express his first, second, third, etc., choices*
(*b*) *indicate his opinion on proposed legislation*
(*c*) *vote only when necessary*

13. He is a Broadway producer whose comedies often feature frenzied, impecunious young men in hotel rooms. His plays are crammed with gags and action. He is one of the few successful college graduates in his field. His name is:
(*a*) *Billy Rose* (*b*) *Guthrie McClintic*
(*c*) *George Abbott* (*d*) *Ernst Lubitsch*

14. In an Episcopal church the Bible usually rests on:
(*a*) *a lectern* (*b*) *a triptych* (*c*) *a reredos*

15. Yes, the new British Ambassador at Washington is doing all right in these troubled times. His friends may call him "Butch," but officially he's known as:
(*a*) *Lord Maugham* (*b*) *Lord Lothian*
(*c*) *Sir Ronald Lindsay*

16. And speaking of England, St. George, her famous patron saint, is celebrated for having:
(*a*) *banished the snakes from Ireland*
(*b*) *won Jerusalem from the Saracens*
(*c*) *slain a dragon* (*d*) *drunk three tuns of ale*
(*e*) *not given in to the Rhine sirens*

17. Edgar Allan Poe used to talk a good deal about "runic rhymes," but do you recall what a rune is?
(*a*) *a character of an early Teutonic alphabet*
(*b*) *a primitive drum* (*c*) *a weird-sounding chant*

18. Shhh! There's a misspelled word lurking here:
Zarathustra, the dime store is neither an elemosynary institution nor the place for you. You need the background of a maharani or at least the regalia of a Persian potentate.

19. In what opera does a Cornish king send his best friend and severest critic to fetch him a wife? The b. f. & s. c. falls in love with the woman but brings her back. Later the lovers fall from grace, the b. f. & s. c. is killed in a scuffle, and the battered bride falls stone-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dead, too, just to show how mad she is over the way things have turned out.
(*a*) *"The Bartered Bride"* (*b*) *"Lohengrin"*
(*c*) *"The Valkyrie"* (*d*) *"Tristan and Isolde"*

20. According to the tenets of Aristotle, a dramatist should always keep the "three dramatic unities" in mind. They are:
(*a*) *plot, actors, scenery* (*b*) *boy, girl, villain*
(*c*) *time, place, location* (*d*) *walk, talk, think fast*

21. Today, people praise sulfanilimide because it:
(*a*) *assuages hangovers* (*b*) *welds steel*
(*c*) *enables plants to grow without soil*
(*d*) *kills germs but not patients*

22. Judged by the standards of England, France, Russia, and Germany, the loss of American mothers' lives in childbirth is clearly:
(*a*) *the lowest in the world* (*b*) *the highest*
(*c*) *far greater than it should be*

23. "The Duce Says Reproduce" might have been Mussolini's slogan in his vast effort to have more and larger families in Italy. As a result of the campaign, recent figures show that:
(*a*) *fewer babies are born* (*b*) *more babies are born*

24. There's something of a revolution going on in radio these days, and it's all because of Major Edwin Armstrong's "frequency modulation," which:
(*a*) *eliminates coaxial cables in television*
(*b*) *removes all advertising* (*c*) *avoids static*

25. The jokesters are saying that Hitler recently reprimanded his commander in chief. Roared Adolf: "Don't say yes till I have finished talking!" Anyway, the commander's name is:
(*a*) *Blaskowitz* (*b*) *von Brauchitsch* (*c*) *Himmler*

26. "Have you ever traveled under a false passport?" "I have." This incriminating answer was given by:
(*a*) *Fritz Weidemann* (*b*) *Fritz Kuhn*
(*c*) *Earl Browder* (*d*) *William Z. Foster*

27. The new war is a good deal like the last one in that the Dardanelles are still controlled by:
(*a*) *Turkey* (*b*) *Greece* (*c*) *Italy* (*d*) *Bulgaria*

28. "No," said the bored ballerina, "I don't want any more champagne but I would like to discuss semantics with you." "Righto," you reply:
(*a*) *"We'll talk about the meaning of words."*
(*b*) *"Those Semites certainly could write."*
(*c*) *"Let's get out of this firetrap; it's stuffy."*
(*d*) *"Writing poetry appeals to me."*

29. During the recent football season, the outstanding backfield star of the Western ("Big Ten") Conference was:
(*a*) *"Bad News" Cafego* (*b*) *Nile Kinnick*
(*c*) *Bill DeCorrevont*

30. Probably the best known Swedish sculptor today is:
(*a*) *Carl Milles* (*b*) *Sven Hedin* (*c*) *Eemil Sillanpaa*

31. And probably the outstanding European cartoonist today (his work is often reproduced in America) is:
(*a*) *David Low* (*b*) *Pertinax* (*c*) *Augur*

32. Reporter Longfellow of the *Portland Intelligencer* is incapacitated again in a tavern. Will you finish this poem for him so his column can go to press?

I stood on the bridge at midnight,
As the clocks were striking the hour,
And the moon rose over the city . . . .

(*a*) *And the cream was beginning to sour.*
(*b*) *Behind the dark church tower.*
(*c*) *And my wife was beginning to glower.*
(*d*) *In front of my sweetheart's bower.*

33. There are rich men in the public service these days, but few of them are quite as well fixed as:
(*a*) *Governor Vanderbilt of Rhode Island*
(*b*) *Senator Lodge of Massachusetts*
(*c*) *Mayor Rossi of San Francisco*

34. Even Neville Chamberlain is not immune from attacks by one of these old-fashioned complaints:
(*a*) *gout* (*b*) *the pip* (*c*) *cholera morbus*
(*d*) *housemaid's knee* (*e*) *toothache*

35 At a night club recently, Uncle Arthur did not think the headwaiter was properly respectful. "Who does he think he is," stormed Uncle Art, "a Pooh-Bah?" Uncle meant to ask if the man believed himself:
(*a*) *a holder of high office* (*b*) *a schoolmaster*
(*c*) *Adolf Hitler* (*d*) *a Kentucky Colonel*

36. Which one of these statements is FALSE?
(*a*) *Juan de la Cierva invented the autogiro.*
(*b*) *Four kinds of lilies are eaten as food.*
(*c*) *"Banzai" means "Honor the sword."*

37. Which country has a virtual monopoly on helium?
(*a*) *the U.S.S.R.* (*b*) *the U.S.A.*
(*c*) *Germany* (*d*) *Great Britain*

38. Practically everyone will agree that H*Y*M*A*N K*A*P*L*A*N is one of the great comic figures of contemporary literature. His creator's name is:
(*a*) *Leonard Q. Ross* (*b*) *Christopher Morley*
(*c*) *Franklin P. Adams* (*d*) *Irvin S. Cobb*

39. And only one of these statements is TRUE:
(*a*) *Gin and whisky will make you frisky.*
(*b*) *Pecksniff appears in Dickens' "Christmas Carol."*
(*c*) *"Tobacco Road" has had the longest Broadway run of any play in America.*

40. "I adore choregraphy," says the Dean's wife at a faculty tea. An instructor's sweetheart would have said:
(*a*) *"I like dancing."* (*b*) *"Singing's fun."*
(*d*) *"To roam the earth — that's what I like."*
(*e*) *"Well, you don't look inhibited."*

Compiled and edited by Jo HUBBARD CHAMBERLIN

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

War on Consumers

by **GEORGE H. TICHENOR**

THE WAR IS ON. Objective: to exterminate or discredit active groups in what is known as the "consumer movement." Before passing harsh judgment on Grandmother, whose name may suddenly appear on a proscribed list of "dangerous agitators," the consumer had better take more than a hasty glance at the battle lines now forming, the issues involved, and the composition of the various factions.

An article by Stanley High in the October FORUM ("Guinea Pigs Left March") said, in effect: Consumers who were formerly docile and knew their place are now an "army with banners." Misguided by sinister forces in government, educational circles, and the various consumer groups, they're marching left as one guinea pig, bent on overthrowing everything that the profiteers hold dear.

Reader's Digest reprinted this piece. *Good Housekeeping*, still smarting, perhaps, under the Federal Trade Commission's disapproval of its "Seal of Approval," sent reprints of the article, with a supplementary discourse, to consumer educators in all parts of the country. The Crowell Publishing Company has taken to the air, and its editorials are strenuously wooing the consumer. The U. S. Chamber of Commerce some time ago issued a special bulletin on the good services of advertising; textbook vigilantes have been suggested by a director of the Advertising Federation of America, for keeping a sharp eye on "destructive doctrines" in school textbooks. Spokesmen for the advertising clubs of New York, St. Louis, Boston, Atlanta, St. Paul, and Minneapolis have already expressed the opinion that action will probably be taken by their respective organizations along the lines suggested. As this is written, the Dies Committee has just issued a blast at communists allegedly boring from within consumer organizations.

Those onslaughts just begin to tell the tale. In addition to the ordinary attacks on consumer groups, co-operatives are subject to a special kind of attack. (The co-operative movement is a distinct aspect of consumer activity which warrants separate treatment later in this article.) Little old ladies tending "co-op" shop have been besieged by "patriots." Activity against consumer organizations has been intensified since consumers began to stir in protest against price hiking; and a great influx of new members and business is coming into the co-operative movement. The attacking strategy is simple: any group which seeks factual information about consumer problems or challenges the divine rightness of any operations of the economic system is to be labeled Red. And wouldn't it be nice if a "consumer network" could be "discovered," led by sinister secret agents?

And who is behind this crusade? None other than our old friend Paternalistic Business, who, having assumed the role of shepherd of the Lord's sheep, feels entitled to a free hand at the fleecing — he and his mouthpieces in the advertising trade.

WHAT THE CONSUMER 'MOVEMENT' IS

THE MAJORITY of consumers have no consciousness of belonging to a "movement." The East Side mother trying to get graded meat and cheaper milk through a depot; the intelligent buyer who would like grade labeling of canned goods and other products; the subscribing members of a consumer testing agency; the member of a women's club working for an effective food-and-drug law; and many an average citizen with a small share of idealism and a large antipathy for being gypped, who finds succor in his co-op store — all these are members of the consumer movement. It is in large part a rather bemazed section of humanity and, significantly, it appears terrifying to the consciences of some, who hear it just be-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ginning to speak. It is not Red-led. It is moved chiefly by millions of housewives who are beginning to look to various agencies for the information they need to find their way about in an economic system increasingly complex and bewildering.

Werner K. Gabler, distribution consultant, in an extensive study for the American Retail Federation, points out: "The best proof that the consumer movement is not made by professional consumers as leaders but that it actually lacks leadership is the multiplicity and variety of expressions and plans."

There are technical organizations like Consumers Union and Consumer's Research which test competing brands and report findings to their members (naturally incurring the wrath of those advertisers who feel that steak should be sold on the basis of sizzle). There are other groups which seek legislation for standards and other consumer aids. And there is the co-operative movement, with two million members and a program so extensive and unique that it must be considered in a class by itself.

Outside the co-operative movement, the three largest organizations with a consumer program have a total membership of approximately 2,400,000 women — the sex traditionally opposed to curtailment of religion and infringement on the identity of the home — and such groups offer small encouragement to the most ambitious Red.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs studies methods of decreasing economic waste through inefficient shopping practices, works for voluntary adoption of standards by producers, broadcasts weekly discussion of consumer problems over — horrors! — N.B.C.'s *Red* Network.

The American Association of University Women similarly encourages study of consumer problems and works for informative labeling. The Association reported twice as many local units conducting consumer programs in 1938 as in 1937.

The National League of Women Voters directs its consumer activity solely to legislative programs. The League worked for some five years, with research and testimony at government hearings, for an improved food-and-drug law.

Professional groups like the American Home Economics Association and the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs are active, and the former reports twice as many requests for speakers on consumer problems in 1938 as in 1937. The A.H.E.A., with the Association of University Women and Federation of Women's Clubs, joined with retail trade associations to form the National Consumer-Retailer Council for study and action on common problems.

The article by Mr. High in THE FORUM gave no idea of the varied activity of the different consumer groups. He failed to mention the Consumers National Federation, which represents a score of interested organizations. There is also the credit-union group, with two million members. Mr. High made it easy to infer that all consumers are in the same bag and that all endorse the doctrines which he extensively quotes from individual authors connected with certain consumer organizations who by no means speak for the whole consumer movement. By proximity, he suggests that all consumer groups should be smeared with one big hammer and sickle. This is like saying: "I saw Tom Jones today. Lots of murderers are running around loose."

Mr. High uses statistics as a drunk uses a lamppost — for support instead of illumination. No instance is too isolated to serve as a glaring example of the case he makes. There are so many outraged consumers straining to get at Mr. High that it would be a shame not to let one of them have a morsel.

THE BATTLE FRONT

EDWARD REICH, editor of the *Consumer Education Journal* challenges Mr. High's statement: "By 1938, courses in consumer education were compulsory in two thirds of the nation's high schools. Nearly three hundred thousand college students gave some curricular consideration to consumer problems."

Consumers' Counsel Division of the AAA. has found 420 high schools with a consumer-education course, says Mr. Reich. Further:

> There is not one State in which a consumer education course is *compulsory*. In twenty-two States, such courses are recommended. In one or two States, courses in consumer co-operation are required in some public schools. In New York City, with its school population in excess of a million, there is no course called "Consumer Education." And in Chicago? And in Philadelphia? Mr. High has given us no figures. Why?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Reich estimates that less than one hundred thousand high-school students are exposed to a study of their chief function in economic life. There are only ninety-seven colleges in the United States where consumer courses are given, and these are small, chiefly junior, colleges, says Mr. Reich. "Most of our schools haven't gotten around to vocational education — let alone consumer education."

When it comes to co-operatives, Mr. High is upset by the idea of government agencies distributing information. Co-operatives do not want cash subsidies. It is impossible to condone government educational aid to consumers, if one considers it the function of a democracy to serve limited special interests. Even public health service is highly suspect. But, if the government is to serve everybody — and "everybody" happens to be the exact definition of a consumer — the amount spent to allow the citizen some defensive armament is pitifully small compared with subsidies to private business in the shape of tariffs, departments of the interior and commerce, and a world-wide consular service.

Insurance men see eye to eye with Mr. High on the subject of co-operatives. It is asserted in a widely circulated booklet, *The Road to Ruin*, that co-operative theory comes straight from Russia. Excerpts from this book, without credit, have been incorporated in numerous letters to newspapers. Agents in convention have resolved against co-operatives. A scrapbook (not for public distribution) has been placed in the hands of agents of stock companies to display material published about or by co-operatives.

The outbreak of the war in Europe coincided with especially venomous attacks on co-operatives over here. As in Great Britain, where a million people joined the movement during the last war and where $408,000,000 were paid in patronage dividends between 1914 and 1918, there was renewed impetus given the movement here when the prices of staple foods rose 17 per cent in the first eight days. (More recently, Mrs. Roosevelt advised housewives to use honey instead of sugar, until retail sugar prices come down again — wholesale prices already having done so.) In the face of chattering consternation, the simple fact was advertised that "Co-operatives CAN'T Profiteer," because:

> A co-operative is owned by the same people who buy from it. Therefore, no matter how high prices go, the consumer-owners of a co-operative are protected, because the savings between the operating costs and selling price are returned to the consumer-owners in proportion to each one's patronage. The various co-operatives are joined together to operate their own wholesale, which also serves without profit. Since there is no place in the co-operative movement for profits, there can never be profiteering.

Central Co-operative Wholesale, twenty-year-old pioneer, had an increase of 40 per cent in its business for the month, compared with the same period of the year before. Eastern Co-operative Wholesale had an increase of 100 per cent for September, as compared with the year before (owing to other factors as well as the war), and growth for the whole year was 47.5 per cent ahead of 1938.

Large increases in number of policyholders were reported by the Farm Bureau Mutual Automobile Insurance Company, which started thirteen years ago from scratch, now has 270,000 policyholders in nine States and the fifth largest business of its type in the United States. Wherever it has gone the co-operative has held down premium rates. Small wonder that rival insurance companies find the co-operative movement "insidious."

At the convention of the National Association of Insurance Agents, Walter H. Bennett, general counsel secretary, declared: "These co-operatives have been seized upon by a number of professional agitators whose organization would put to shame the best political machine."

Wallace J. Campbell, Assistant Secretary of the Co-operative League of the U. S. A., summarizes the situation thus: "The people who want to make a profit on insurance are attacking those who want to insure themselves."

Ray ("Road to Ruin") Murphy, whose little pamphlet has fathered a whole sheaf of newspaper clippings attacking co-ops, announces:

> This co-operative theory comes to us bearing the seal, "Made in the U.S.S.R." . . . Perhaps one may surmise that the "co-operators" propose to "liquidate" one-third of our population economically after the fashion of Europe's totalitarian states.

The well-known facts that co-operatives started in England nearly a hundred years ago and that *genuine* co-operatives are liquidated in totalitarian states do not daunt a stalwart soul like Mr. Murphy. He asks the clergy not to barter its freedom to speak the "truth of God" and the farmer to avoid a system which

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"seizes" the fruits of his labor. He's asking two very tough customers. Farmers make about 65 per cent of total co-operative purchases and turned to co-operation to save mortgaged homes. The Pope, the Federal Council of Churches, and the Central Council of American Rabbis have all approved this insidious movement. The famous Nova Scotia movement is sponsored by a Catholic university.

Steady Progress

Co-operators are meeting these and other attacks by intensively minding their own business. Wherever co-operation is taught in the schools, they prefer to have it taught along with the classical economics — as a picture gains perspective by a darker side. But there is such a difference in the attitude of co-operators toward business life that special schools are maintained by all the large wholesales, where managers learn that there is no longer any war across the counter because, in a co-operative, buyers and sellers are the same persons. And for the same reason there is no incentive for cheating or serving inferior merchandise.

Other businesses are doing well to show small gains; co-operative stores are growing faster than the movement can supply trained managers. Consumer Distribution Corporation, with other organizations, will direct a training course for managers, beginning February 5, limited to students who give promise of being able to fill existing vacancies. Classroom work in New York will be alternated with "internship" in selected stores.

Most important in co-operative education are advisory councils composed of six to a dozen families who meet regularly to plan (not plot) projects for their co-op societies. Here is a typical program put through last year by several Ohio councils: organize twice the number of councils; organize a mixed chorus and a youth band; set up another distribution point for co-operative service; raise $5,000 additional capital for the local co-op; build a community hall; organize thrift clubs; learn about co-operative (not state) medicine.

Tonight "in our neighbor's home we build," say Ohio farmers — a slogan echoed in the oil towns of Kansas; in Minnesota, where red barns stand in solid blocks against the white snow; just off the slushy streets of New York City; in South Carolina, where gardenias still are fragrant; in fishing shacks near the pounding surf of Nova Scotia.

Consumers are learning. A Gallup survey showed that 64 per cent of those interviewed believe there is too great a spread between manufacturing costs and retail prices; 56 per cent favor grade labeling; and 45 per cent favor the establishment of a Department of the Consumer in the government. The war against the consumer has started a trifle too late. The little man, endowed with that "terrible obstinacy of the meek," is beginning to know there are certain simple things he wants that he can get for himself.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Theatre

Bards of Passion and of Mirth

by **LETA CLEWS CROMWELL**

MAXWELL ANDERSON and Sidney Kingsley have brought the serious note, the measured tread, into a season that still seems primarily dedicated to chansons and capers, with Clare Boothe, Howard Lindsay, and Russell Crouse entering the circle to win much deserved applause.

Mr. Anderson's especially is very solemn music: Is there anything worth dying for? he asks in *Key Largo*. For two grueling hours he wrestles with the disillusionment which characterizes our times and he emerges at the end to say that a man must be willing to die for some ideal if only that life may be worth living. But Mr. Anderson is groggy. His conclusion lacks that comforting tone of finality with which the Bible declares that whoever shall lose his life shall save it — one of its most profound paradoxes.

King McCloud leads a little group of his friends to Spain to fight for the Loyalists. Realizing that theirs is a lost cause, he deserts the ranks and leaves his friends, all of whom choose to remain and die. He is captured by the Insurgents, and, to save his skin, actually fights on the side of Franco. Back in America, tortured by doubt and remorse, he takes it on himself to visit the homes of his companions who died in Spain, searching for one soul who will condone his acts. But his pilgrim's staff puts forth no leaves. How he finally chooses to die in order to save two Indians is the burden of Mr. Anderson's story.

It strikes one as overcomplicated, labored, and far-fetched. Mr. Anderson has gone to the tip of Florida for his background, to gangster drama for most of his situations. As for the vanishing Indian, that "symbol of all lost causes," surely he belongs in grand opera, among the false notes.

Yet the author of *Elizabeth the Queen*, *High Tor*, and *Winterset* can also give weight to his thoughts and eloquence to his words. More often than not, one listens. And in the character of King McCloud, as interpreted by Paul Muni, Mr. Anderson has one of his happiest creations — a very human fellow, desperately confused by his own logic and in a nasty predicament. It may be our nature to endow with superiority any figure on a platform, or this may be the result of a heroic tradition, but a character who refuses to let go of his life at the drop of a hat usually looks like a fearful coward. Mr. Muni plays with great naturalness, feeling, and restraint, and he contrives also to be deeply sympathetic. Watching his mastery of the stage, despite his long term in Hollywood, is in itself an experience.

The girl named Alegre and her blind father are more familiar Anderson confections, full of nobility and striving, and Miss Uta Hagen does not miss an opportunity to lead with her chin. As the gangster, Frederic Tozere is excellent, and between him and Paul Muni some arresting exchanges take place. This reviewer likes to remember the moment when, guns at each other's stomachs, they edge toward the door, presumably to end in much the same way as Sherlock Holmes and Professor Moriarty. Indeed, there's a good deal of suspense and action in *Key Largo*, owing to some pretty heavy melodramatics (which of course we must deplore in Mr. Anderson); but one notes with interest the zest they give to philosophical inquiries in blank verse.

"For to him that is joined to all the living there is hope." This was the message of Millen Brand's novel, *The Outward Room*, and Sidney Kingsley is faithful to the spirit in his long-awaited dramatization. *The World We Make* tells the story of a young girl who escapes after many unavailing months in a mental hospital, twisting the facts of her brother's death. And in that outside world, learning to keep house in a tenement for a simple workingman, she makes the long journey back from the valley of the shadow.

In itself the cure is not startling: the daily round, the common task — the therapy of occupation universally hailed by the psy-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chiatrists and known to man, one suspects, since the beginning of time. Nor has Mr. Kingsley attempted to duplicate that study of an unbalanced mind which gave the novel its depth. Fortunately. Such matters have a way of sounding merely clinical in the theatre. Furthermore, there are no opera glasses with which to see a disordered brain, no speeches to convey the suffering of distorted vision; and it is a fact, ludicrously ironic, that people with visible mental trouble seem just plain uncongenial. The Furies are better left offstage, handed over to narrative writing and the dependable stream of consciousness.

The World We Make is not at all important, but one finds oneself caring a good deal throughout its simple, straightforward story of love and regeneration. Mr. Kingsley also manages to make the overfamiliar picture of tenement life unusually touching. Superlatively played, from Margo down through Rocco's dog, his characters are lovable, credible, and moving.

Mr. Kingsley has been severely criticized — by some, in fact, condemned — for the realism of his writing and of his production, and the scene in the laundry, with real steam pouring from a real laundry machine, does indeed carry imitation rather far. But, if it is child's play, rather than art, the audience reacts to it with a child's pleasure. As for the naturalism of the dialogue — surely realism is one of many styles of writing, not an aesthetic principle. And this writer feels that we can do with some believable people in the theatre, after a long, hard period of essences.

Miss Clare Boothe's previous plays — *Kiss the Boys Goodbye* and *The Women* — gave little indication of a burning love of mankind, yet in *Margin for Error* she performs a really distinguished service; she has created a scapegoat for the most serious offenses of the Nazi regime (if ever the Nazis should be in need of a scapegoat) and she has provided us meanwhile with an effigy to poison, stab, and shoot, all at the same time. Her Nazi consul in "an American city" is the last word in villains — a sadist and a thief who poisons parrots, steals from his own government, plots the ruin of his wife, and plans the liquidation of his friends. One regrets only that he is not also boiled in oil and laid across the railroad tracks. But no hard feelings; for the play is an out-and-out melodrama, not serious propaganda, and it is salted down with comedy.

Regrettably the author did not suffer her beguiling villain (Otto Preminger) to live beyond the first half of the play, and the question who killed him seems comparatively tame, almost irrelevant. Nor is Miss Boothe much of a hand at mystery writing as yet, although she has assembled a set of the most high-powered motives ever devised by fertile imagination. Thanks, however, to her satiric gift and the engaging personality of Officer Finkelstein (Sam Levine), not to mention a rousing line at the curtain, one has spent an evening filled with satisfaction.

In *Margin for Error* and *Life with Father* we have the lion and the lamb in comedy, but one suspects that they would be most unwilling to lie down together. *Life with Father* is a gentle, sunny, delightful little piece by Howard Lindsay and Russell Crouse, based on the books of the late Clarence Day. No man is so burdened, so abused, so put upon by his family as Father; his eldest son wants a new suit, the steak is underdone, the new maid won't stay, and there's Mother who is always to be coped with; added to everything, she insists that Father be baptized. Father paces the floor; he shouts at Mother at the top of his lungs (she is always having to close the doors); but somehow he never wins.

Out of a series of sketches the authors have actually contrived a play, which, though it may hang on a thread, nevertheless hangs. They have selected their material with great ingenuity and from a line or two of narrative have built up some of their most telling scenes.

Mr. Lindsay, in the leading part, impersonates Father rather than interprets him. Owing also to the absence of Clarence Day's meaty comments, the play seems a good deal thinner than the book. Yet Father gains in sympathy what he loses in character; he is unmistakably kin to every male being. In fact, it is the war of the sexes that he wages with Mother (perfectly played by Dorothy Stickney). It also happens that Father becomes in the play a man bewildered at every turn, and we all know that nothing is funnier to watch than frustration. On dark days the memory of Father's cry of baffled rage, as he reads of another wreck on the New Haven Railroad, should be profoundly comforting.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We Human Puppets

by **WINFRED RHOADES**

MARCUS AURELIUS, speaking to himself in the *Meditations*, tells himself not to be "puppetlike, hurried hither and thither by impulses that take no thought." He bids himself take notice of what it is that pulls the strings. He tasks himself to "put an end to the wire pulling of passion." He charges himself to "learn, late as it is, that thou hast within thee something higher and more divine than the objects that are the causes of passion and, in general, drag thee puppetlike whither they will."

The thought is arresting. Something pulls the strings, and a man flares up on the instant. Anger is apt to be a sign of weakness, but the man recks not of that. He recks not of anything. His reaction is that of a puppet. Without thought, when some chance happening, some person or event outside of himself pulls the strings, he makes automatic response.

A feeling of loneliness and neglect and pique pulls the strings, and a woman accepts a lover in her husband's absence. Resentment pulls the husband's strings, and he refuses to support the resulting child, deserts his wife, and leaves her unprovided for — unless perhaps he is rationalizing and using his wife's faithlessness to justify his own faithlessness.

A man lives day after day with morose and bitter thoughts and suffers from headaches that are both afflictive and hampering. And what is it that pulls his strings? Lack of the recognition for which he has struggled during all the years of adult life. The evidence? His headaches disappear when he deliberately changes his habit of thought.

A woman suffers from a facial contortion combined with feelings of weakness which make it difficult for her to hold her position and earn her living. Her mother will not realize that this woman of more than fifty is no longer "Mamma's little girl" but still tells her what dress to wear, when to put on her rubbers, and whether to wear high overshoes or low. The mother entanglement is what pulls the strings in this woman's case.

Another woman, with a similar mother situation, develops asthmatic symptoms.

The continual nervous strain of his work, combined with the fear of missing the imperative perfect co-ordination of time and movement with the other performer, pulls the strings for a young acrobatic clown, and severe intestinal disorders are the result.

Another young man is involved in an accident while driving a car and after that is obsessed with fear, refuses not only to drive a car but even to walk alone to the corner store, and spends his hours either in the house or in his safe back yard. His former mishap pulls the strings and keeps them pulled, until he learns to get control of his thoughts and emotions and reactions.

The feeling that he is slighted and unjustly treated pulls the strings, and an eminent medical man develops symptoms of weakness and almost utter exhaustion, until he realizes what his state of mind is doing and calls himself sharply to order.

And so it goes. Family discongruity pulls the strings that bring about extreme nervous tension and strange discomforts of the stomach. Worry about money and trouble because of an imbecile child pull the strings, and the feeling of continual lassitude and weariness results. Mortification pulls the strings that lead to a fit of the doleful dumps. Fear that a husband will lose his job and that an already small income will be reduced to nothing pulls the strings, and then comes palpitation of the heart, pain, and general prostration. An aggravating office boss pulls the strings, and chronic irritability results — not at the office where it would be unsafe to show feelings but back at home in the bosom of an unfortunate family. Disappointment with what life has led to pulls

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the strings, and a gloomy temper appears, loss of appetite, the habit of "taking it out on the children," and the wish for death as a release from the whole burden of life.

II

THESE ILLUSTRATIONS are not the unsubstantial products of a vivid imagination. They are from real life. No doubt in all of the cases there were other factors at work: fundamental though obscure physical factors and also supplementary and complicating emotional factors. But the lack of proper adjustment to the situational demands was a pregnant force in the intensification and prolongation of the pains, palpitations, or other symptoms that appeared.

Here is the point. The ache, the stomach distress, the dizziness, the weakness are not the real trouble. They are rightly called symptoms, for the real trouble lies beneath these manifestations. It may be organic and, if so, it needs to be treated. But it may be, quite otherwise, a fundamental emotional conflict: conflict between opposing desires, conflict between desires and possibilities, conflict between hopes and facts. And such conflict, no less than definite organic lesions, can be the cause of multitudinous painful physical symptoms and serious breakdowns.

It is necessary, in order to regain a lost state of general physical well-being and in order to move progressively forward into essential success at the job of living, that a man ask himself what it is that leads him to feel as he feels, to think as he thinks, to do as he does. We need to ask ourselves, as the ancient Roman emperor asked himself: "What is it that pulls my strings?"

The things that pull the strings may come from outside you, or they may be your own undisciplined proclivities. In either case their power over you is owing to your own incompetent and unsound mental and emotional habits. Do you think it is by the circumstances of life that your strings are pulled? The power of those circumstances is owing to the way you permit yourself to look at them. Your family, your job, the person who lords it over you in your job, your physical handicap, your success, your lack of success, your poverty, your frustration, your new opportunity which seems more than you dare to tackle, your unreasonable ambitions, your unsatisfied longings, your unregulated passions, your suspicions, your fears, or even experiences that came to you in the far back days of childhood — any of these may pull the strings. But only if you permit them to.

What are known as "nervous disorders" are apt to be confessions of failure to get free from the domination of the strings.

"When I was growing up," said an old lady who had not quite reached her hundredth birthday but was near it, "it wasn't very high-toned or even respectable to be real well." No doubt there was facetiousness in this remark, but nevertheless there was in it also truth.

For the women who were tied to hill-country farms made themselves interesting to themselves and endeavored to make themselves significant to their neighbors by cultivating illness. If one suffered from some chronic infirmity or if perchance one could be bedridden for years, it was a mark of distinction. It was her appeal for attention. It was something to talk about. It pinned on her the badge of martyrdom. It was her way of expressing rebellion against the conditions under which she was living. This was all subconscious, of course; the symptoms came without overt invitation, as the physical expression of physical failure. On the farm, existence was hard and dull. The monotony, the loneliness, the lack of stimulus, the lack of anything to keep the mind from traveling incessantly round and round in the same little squirrel wheel of reflections — these things pulled the strings for those women, and they responded with physical illness.

III

TODAY THE CONDITIONS that incline people to react with what are called nervous disorders are different for most of us, especially for city dwellers. But there are always, whether in city or in country, equivalent discouragements that have to be dealt with.

Translate this into language that is more scientifically physiological and you have what the Russian experimenter Pavlov called "conditioned reflexes" and American psychologists are learning to call "conditioned reactions." Pavlov, by causing a dog to hear the sound of a bell at the same time that food was presented to his sight and smell, so educated the animal's automatic responses that after a time the saliva, which flows naturally when a hungry dog is

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

brought within reach of food, would flow with equal promptness in response to the bell.

Similar abnormal conditioning has been accomplished experimentally even in the human realm. Ordinarily a man has no conscious control over the pupil of his eye, but by a course of laboratory training a habit of automatic response has been induced so that, although the intensity and position of the light remain quite unchanged, the subject of the experiment has learned to bring about the expansion of his pupil by giving himself the verbal command.

An old story illustrates the point from a somewhat different angle. A young woman was asked to play a certain piece on the piano. For a number of measures she played easily and fluently. Then, to the surprise of the listeners and to her own surprise as well, one hand flew out and struck the open book a resounding blow. The action was entirely automatic. It was the unintended and unreasoned outward expression of a subconscious memory. Years before, when in childhood she first worked over that composition, the girl found some particular difficulty with that passage and in her childish vexation would throw out her hand and strike the book. When in adult years her hand flew out again, it was not because she was thinking about her former difficulty or remembering her old habit. It was because she was *not* thinking. The gesture was a conditioned reaction. When the old conditions were again presented, certain neuronic associations were automatically excited, and, just because she did *not* control her reaction by conscious process, her hand mechanically repeated the old habit. A subconscious memory pulled the strings.

The person who would be healthy of body and have his intelligence and his aspiring spirit in control of his life, must learn to pull his own strings and must be ever resistant to the pulling that comes from people and events outside himself. He must guard himself against the untoward conditionings that the events of daily life are always liable to effect. He must work unweariedly for his own healthy conditioning and do it with all the constructive wisdom he can lay hold on. If he will thus cultivate mental and emotional health by conscious attention and effort, he will either set himself free from the physical symptoms that have laid hold on him, if they are of emotional origin, or, if they are definitely organic in origin and for some reason not curable, he will learn to live with them and still make a good thing of life.

IV

It is sometimes well advised to talk to yourself as you would to some other person whom you desired to lead into the ways of intelligent self-control. Ask yourself what are the things that get you stirred up? Are they things that any thoughtful and high-principled person ought to be disturbed by or are they trivial, and do you merely reveal your own subjective weakness when you permit yourself to take notice of them? If they are things that you ought to be stirred by, what steps can you take to bring about the correction of what is wrong? If they are trivial and it is only your own answering triviality that permits them to stir your feelings, what can you do to lift up and greaten your personality?

Take the habit of anger. You find yourself flaring up into a passion for very slight reasons. Ask yourself, then, what are the things that make you angry and why it is that they have that effect? Look at them fairly; estimate them at their real value; scrutinize yourself clearly; ask what better response you could make. Then plan out in your mind, definitely and judiciously, a new and better kind of reaction. Resolve to cultivate that new and better reaction. Remind yourself of this resolution every morning when you wake up and many times during the day. If you slip back into your old habit, do not despair but throw yourself with fresh zeal into the effort to achieve self-mastery. Do all this and at the same time separate yourself, in so far as that is possible, from the situations and conditions that arouse your anger. Cut the strings.

In like manner practice yourself in other reactions of the more desirable kind.

Every one of us, every day of his life, finds his reaction strings jerked at some unexpected moment in some unexpected way. There is no day but presents to the consciousness some kind of annoyance. Will you be a puppet and react with feelings and deeds of irritation and so permit yourself to grow into a crabbed and pestilent personality or will you decline to be the plaything of the strings? The clever advertising man makes it his business to pull the strings of desire. Will you be a puppet and yield willy-nilly or will you be a self-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

directed mind and restrain your itching fancies?

It is one of the marvels of this twentieth century that men should be able to construct a machine that can do such things as are reported of the robot, the mechanical man. It should be considered a greater marvel that supposedly intelligent men can be willing to let themselves become hardly more than robots, mere automata, not self-directed but moved by any chance impulse from without.

Strange it is that, of the multitudes who make such great matter of the health of the body, so few bethink themselves of the need for health of mind and spirit as the cardinal need of life.

The mind can make or unmake, exalt or debase, save or ruin both the body and the personality.

V

A WOMAN who left the city almost fifty years ago and opened up in the White Mountains an intervale which has now become one of the most attractive places in that noble country was telling of her early days. She had shaken off the dust of the city because of threatened pulmonary disaster. "When I came," she said, "I thought I was going to make a lot of money every summer and go to Europe every winter. The second winter I was doing all the cooking for four men and all the washing! But I picked up a poem of Kipling's that had just come out, and it kept me going:

"Said England unto Pharaoh, 'I must make
a man of you,
That will stand upon his feet and play the
game'" —

and her quick memory carried her on through many lines telling of "heat and dust and coolie-work and sun," of "vipers, flies, and sandstorms," of "cholera and thirst," until the end was achieved and "Pharaoh done the best he ever done." The frail woman who keeps such thoughts going round and round in her head and resolves that hardness and disappointment shall only "make a man" of her — that woman finds that her body responds to the stimulus as well as her spirit.

There is a glorious incident in the life of Fray Luis de León that I have somewhere read which illustrates the point in classical setting. Lecturer at the University of Salamanca, scholar and mystic, he was sealed up in the silence of prison and for five years was subjected to the duress and martyrdom that the Inquisition knew so well how to inflict. When at last he was declared innocent and set free, the crowds flocked to hear his first lecture at the University. He opened his mouth and began to speak. "As we were saying the other day . . ." Only that. Then he continued discussion of the theme that had been on his lips five years before. No burning words about what he had suffered and his joy at finding release. No return to the black vaults of memory. No outcry against his unjust accusers. No effort to make others share the bitterness of his afflictions. Just a quiet voice and calm manner and a resumption of the ordinary — and really important — business of life. At once he emancipated himself from the past, threw himself heart and soul into the present, and set out on a new advance into whatever the future might have in store.

That man had cut the strings. No puppet he but master of himself: of his thoughts, of his convictions, of his emotions, of his reactions. One can imagine the nature of his communings during the years of imprisonment that he had endured because of the spiritual *must*ness which demanded that against all coercion he maintain the integrity of his own mind and soul. The man who desires to develop a self that has poise and strength trains himself to the habit of living continually in communion with bigness and calmness and strength and with thoughts of fundamental confidence in life and in the universe.

It is not a towering intellect that makes a man really significant. It is not the power of winning what the world looks on as success or even the power of turning the world upside down. It is greatness of soul.

Here is a strange paradox. People are more apt to be proud of their essential littleness than of their essential bigness: more apt to be proud of their emotional weakness, their unreasonably sensitive feelings, their flash-in-the-pan tempers, their jittery physical reactions, their ready falling into illness than of their self-possession, their greatness of spirit, their power to stand up to the blows of life.

Superiority of that kind is not easy for most of us. With all of us the "I" is central and instinctively it is the "I" of littleness rather than the "I" of bigness. Only by a long and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rigorous training can most of us rise up into self-possession in the large and true sense.

A woman who is signally crippled, who suffers from other physical frailties, and whose home conditions are exceedingly difficult by reason of financial stringency was making a report to one who had been teaching her how to change herself, since her conditions of life could not be changed. "I came here a year ago," she said, "discouraged with lots of pains, but my standard of thinking is so much higher now that I can always smile and am feeling fine." She can indeed smile — and with a singular charm — and by her smile and by the way she carries her painful handicaps she helps some of the rest of us to stand up better to the difficulties of our own lives. "I have found," she says, "that you can be just as happy or just as miserable as you want to be." It matters not if her place in the world is small; that woman is changing the "I" of littleness into the "I" of essential bigness.

How did she lift herself up? By changing her "standard of thinking"! She began to think in the positive instead of in the negative.

VI

THOUGHT HABITS and emotion habits are cultivated just as other habits are cultivated. What has taken place once is repeated, and soon it repeats itself involuntarily. The strings are pulled, and, because the habit of anger or of tears has been cultivated, the tears begin to flow, or the anger flares up.

Freedom is possible. It is possible to get and to maintain healthy control of your reactions. You can recondition yourself. You can make yourself into a new and better kind of person. It is not easy. Life is always a struggle. When there is not one kind of difficulty there is another. But the difficulties you meet can be so handled that they become sources of new power. You can get the mastery of your irritability, your doldrums, your headaches, your stomach upsets, your palpitations, your pains, when they come from emotional maladjustment. Doing so will give you a satisfaction that hardly anything else can give.

When you feel rising up within you a strong impulse to an inexpedient course of action, pull yourself up short. Say to yourself: "I will not suffer my strings to be pulled by that enticement." Hold yourself with a firm hand. So will you keep yourself from many a reaction of the kind that undermines the body's health, breaks down happiness, renders peace of mind impossible, and brings life at the last to relative failure instead of relative success. And so will you at the same time encourage in yourself tendencies to health, happiness, essential success in the task of living, a personality that other people can live with comfortably, a selfhood that you yourself can live with while maintaining some degree of equanimity, and a final outcome of victory for the spirit.

In order to achieve those results you notice exactly what your unwholesome emotion is and set your mind toward the opposite. You do the physical things that encourage the new emotion: if you feel like slumping your shoulders, you square them instead and lift them up; if you feel like dragging your feet, you make yourself step sturdily and with animation; if the corners of your mouth are turning down, you resolutely turn them up. You do things and go to places that will encourage and stimulate the stronger and better emotions. You change your thoughts: you consciously pick out other things to think about and make yourself think them. You say: "I won't let this occurrence pull the strings; I will pull my own strings and pull them right."

Any person who desires to make the most of his life must hear and heed the call to progressive development and enlargement of himself as a personality. The principle of evolution points out what we are to aim at consciously as individuals. Starting with single-celled organisms of microscopic size, nature has never ceased to move onward and upward, by more intricate organization and the development of higher powers always. Our own life history has repeated the process. Each one of us began to exist when the combination of two infinitesimal cells was made and the development did not cease until the mature man or woman was completed.

Maturity of physical development must not be the end of the story. Long after the peak of physiological growth has been passed and physiological dissolution has begun, the greatening of the mind and soul and spirit must still go on if we would be truly alive.

Such personality development is the glory of man. It is the final, true success of life. It is the distinction which makes man truly man.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Should Churches Pay Taxes?

A Debate

I—Subsidized Religion

***by* JOSEPH ERNEST McAFEE**

Nonchurchman

A CLERGYMAN in charge of a quarter-million-dollar church plant remarked the other day: "What discourages me is the futility of it all. Here we maintain this big plant on our twenty-five-thousand annual budget and if we get out two hundred people for a Sunday-morning service we are pleased. Why, if the communists had our equipment and resources they would have the whole State converted in no time."

"One thing to do," I told him, "is to put all church property on the tax list."

He paused a moment, and said, "Well, I never thought of that. That would do the business, wouldn't it? Churches would have to make good or quit."

This one device would not correct all the defects of the ecclesiastical system, but this cleric was right in predicting that churches would have to put up or shut up. If an equitable share of the tax load were thrown on church property, it would not take long to determine whether church members want to stand under.

American churches are private institutions. What they do or do not do, how their affairs are run and to what purpose, are purely matters for the hierarchies in charge to determine. The laymen inside have little to say in any of the churches; in some, nothing whatever. The public outside, constituting about half the population, does not enter the picture. Yet, through their exemption from taxes, the churches are handsomely subsidized from public funds. This is large-scale taxation without representation.

The valuation put on church edifices alone throughout the country approaches if it does not pass the $4,000,000,000 mark. In particular communities, exemptions have helped materially to cause the bankruptcy which has already befallen thousands of municipalities. In our town of 15,000, the church property is already valued by the assessors at $1,000,000. Other exemptions increase the total to $3,000,000 in a property valuation of $33,000,000.

In our State, one seventh of the taxable property is on the exemption list. The problem has become so acute that the two houses of the legislature by joint resolution have directed the tax commissioner to study the whole situation carefully, present his findings, and suggest remedies.

To be sure, much of this exemption is on public property. But much else has slipped in under cover of the churches' precedent. If the getting is good for the churches, why not for our pet organization, which also exists to do the community good, whether the community wants to be done good or not?

The system is time-honored. Few citizens of the present generation have any clear idea why it prevails. If the theory on which the system is based is examined in the light of present-day conditions, the structure will be found to have not a leg to stand on.

The church is a divine institution, and the profane hand of the tax collector may not be laid on its sacred property. But divine-rightism passed out with the coming of democracy.

Churches render a public service at the point of a general need. So do grocery stores. But the grocers pay taxes. And the point of need served by the grocer is one felt by us all. The most pious must also eat.

But the people ought to feel the need which the churches supply. Who says so? In a democracy the people themselves determine what is good for them.

The churches are not run for profit. How is that figured out? Most of those who determine what the churches do make a living at it.

But the profits from church operations are not speculative. That is a highly flexible term. Comparing a church with many another service enterprise which loyally pays taxes, the distinction is a quibble.

The time-honored formula which is com-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

monly employed to accord the churches their unique status, "a free church in a free state," uses the term "free" in a specious double meaning. A free state is one in which each citizen may exercise a sovereign right to join in determining the policies and procedures of his government. Under our church system the citizen is free to join a church which somebody else has organized on principles and doctrines which somebody else has prescribed and which somebody else runs — or else to stay out. Certainly there can be no rhyme or reason in imposing on the whole body of taxpayers the burden of carrying the increasingly substantial subsidies from the public funds which tax exemption involves, in respect of institutions about which the taxpayer has so little to say as he has about churches.

Tax exemption is poor finance; is it sound social policy? Probably the common verdict would be that there is more deadwood and inefficiency in American churches than in any other major branch of the social program, except the courts and legal procedure.

From all over the country the cry goes up: "Too many churches!" Alike from the long-suffering public and from enlightened churchmen the plea is: "Get together; cut out waste and increase efficiency." One layman in a Western State, after studying the situation in his region, several years ago published an article recommending that half the churches be burned down.

A less arbitrary and probably quite as effective method would be to put all churches on the tax list. It is safe to predict that ten thousand of them throughout the country would fold up and go out of business before the tax collector's auctioneer could get around to cleaning up the parcels to be disposed of for delinquent tax payments. Thousands more would soon follow. Countless languishing churches where die-hard groups still hold out would conclude that their doctrinal differences with their neighbors were not so grave after all, and there would be widespread mergers and church unions.

The removal of the cover under which the churches now enjoy their large public subsidy would reveal an amazing collection of parasites which now enjoy the same sustenance at the public's unwilling expense. In every State there is a motley assortment of enterprises which have appropriated the labels — religious, educational, charitable, philanthropic, eleemosynary — and which claim to be rendering a nonprofit public service in the estimation of the small groups promoting them but on the qualifications of which the subsidizing public has no means of passing.

If and when the taxing of churches is proposed, these will hang together in opposition with a tenacity the strength of which is already indicated by their zeal in attaching themselves to the taxpaying public through present claims to tax exemption. If anything practical is to be done, the whole system must be reordered, and the exemption of any and all taxable property must be abolished — by whomsoever the property may be owned and for whatever use employed.

In the case of public property this would amount to adjustments in bookkeeping. But such adjustments are highly desirable on every consideration. The present system confuses the public accounts until citizens have no clear idea how much any particular public service is costing them.

II—Church and State of Equal Right

by ROBERT E. SPEER

Protestant

THE QUESTION whether the state should tax the church springs from fallacious notions of the nature and function of the state. The state is not the supreme and authoritative instrument of society. Society itself is the seat and source of authority, and the state is only one of the four great institutions of society — the state, the school, the church, and the family. In a real sense these four are co-ordinate. If they are to be differentiated and arranged in the ascending order of their importance to society, the order just given is the proper one. The state comes last.

It is no more appropriate for the state to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tax the church than for it to tax the family or to tax itself. Indeed it would be more appropriate for the state to tax itself than to tax the church. To do so, to be sure, would be absurd, as the state has no income except what it takes from its citizens, and a tax imposed by the state on itself would simply mean a heavier tax on the people. But precisely the same thing would be true of a tax on the church. Such a tax would mean simply an additional impost on that portion of the people already voluntarily bearing the expense of the church. Imposed on whom by whom? If by the present national administration on the present membership of the church, it may be stated that 27,476,673 voters established the present government and that the membership of the churches is 54,576,346.

In a sense it would be more reasonable for the state to tax itself and to require the tax to be paid by the employees of the state than to tax the church. The employees of the state are supported by the state, and many of them have heretofore been exempt from taxation on their salaries, while the members of the church support the church, and are not supported by it, and have already, with all the employees of the church, been subjected to the tax levy of the state.

It is said that the church enjoys all the benefits of government without sharing in its support. There are two replies. (1) The church as a taxable unit is nothing but an association of persons who have paid for these benefits in their own taxes. (2) What are these benefits which the church enjoys at the hands of the state? As far as national government is concerned, they are difficult to discover. Indeed the church suffers more from the national government than it is benefited by it. And, as regards municipal government, the churches pay for their light and heat and often for their water. They are charged for their share of street improvements. As for police and fire protection — the church members are assessed for this in their individual tax payments.

On the other hand the church renders immeasurable service to government. It promotes morality, lessens crime, dispenses charity, relieves poverty, fosters loyalty and obedience to law, eases social strains, diminishes the burden and enlarges the vitality of the state. Indeed it might be argued that too often the church indulges the state. It condones when it ought to condemn. It is not, however, the creation or the creature of the state. It does not exist on the sufferance of the state. It is an institution of society of at least equal right with the state. With regard to its untaxed property it may be said that the church creates far more property value than is withheld from taxation by exemption.

Robert Ellis Thompson has said, in *The Divine Order of Human Society:*

> To put it at the lowest, the Church is a mainstay of the social order, a chief pillar of the State, and not least so when there is no direct attempt to control political issues to Church ends. So well is this recognized that men who have no distinct Christian faith of their own do yet contribute to the building and support of the churches on purely social grounds. An infidel newspaper complains that this is true even of those who agree with it. Perhaps they are influenced by the consideration Dr. Bushnell used with a rich man of that way of thinking when he was collecting money for a new church in Hartford. To a blunt refusal he replied: "My friend, I want you to think of something. What was real estate worth in Sodom?"

The church and the school and the family are not classifiable with grocery stores or the service-rendering, profit-seeking agencies of the community. They are both historically and in principle organic institutions essential to society. They are not profit-seeking but they are service-rendering, and the church is the greatest force of unselfishness and philanthropy in the nation. To curtail or strangle it by taxation is socially suicidal.

To speak of exemption from taxation as a subsidy is a misuse of language. For the state to think of the reduction of present taxation or the withholding of additional taxation as a favor or subsidy to the citizen is the height of political effrontery, even more so in the case of the basic institutions of which we are speaking. The family is not subsidized when, as a family, it is exempt from taxation. No legitimate use of the word "subsidy" is applicable to the exemption of the church from a tax impost. On the contrary, it is taxation always, whether of the church or anything else, that needs to be justified, not exemption from taxation. And this justification was never more needed than now. Instead of an enlarging of the field or an increase in the burden of taxation, exactly the opposite course is what is needed today.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Of all the institutions of society, the state, which imposes, collects, and expends the taxes, is the least efficient and the most colossally wasteful. We are suffering today from the government's undertaking to do what society can far better and more economically accomplish through its other institutions — the school, the church, and the family. Instead of enlarging the activities, increasing the expense, and expanding the waste of government, all these should be reduced, and the far more important agencies of school and church and family should be utilized not by government but by society, as the agencies of its well-being and advancement.

The argument that the state needs the tax returns from church property and the argument that the church is so inefficient that thousands of churches ought to be wiped out by taxation are not compatible. Dead geese lay no eggs, whether of gold — which is forbidden to be laid by anyone — or of paper. Furthermore if the church is inefficient it is not the function of the state to extinguish it by taxation. The state has already gone too far in encroachment on society's other institutions and instruments. As a matter of fact, however, the church is not ineffective. It is better administered, more economically and more efficiently, than the government. It is more democratic. The ordinary citizen has a larger part in it than he has in the government. Its courts and councils surpass those of the state. It is far from what it ought to be, but, crude and defective though it is and crude and defective as the family is, nevertheless, the church and the family, as they are, are of more service to society than is the state.

III—Economy through Church Services

by LAWRENCE LUCEY

Catholic

THERE ARE 18,526 Catholic churches in the United States, with property valued at $837,271,053. These 18,526 churches care for the spiritual needs of 21,000,000 Catholics. The average Catholic church in this country has about 1,130 members. Some of these parishioners are Easter Sunday or merely baptized Catholics, but, even after lopping off as much as a quarter of the Catholic population, an overestimation, there remains an average of 850 members for each Catholic church.

I have attended Sunday mass in many small towns, but never to my recollection has there been a congregation as small as two hundred. In these small towns the value of the church building never exceeded $25,000. A $250,000 building there would be as out of place as the Empire State skyscraper in Timbuktu. In larger cities the church membership runs into the thousands; my parish has a congregation of seven thousand.

Despite all the predictions that the Catholic Church would fold up and die within the next generation (and this has been predicted and repredicted since the Church was founded by Christ 1,900 years ago), it continues to live and grow. It has more American members now than it ever had — one out of every six people. There were 62,062 converts in 1936.

Taxing church property or lighting a match to the buildings will not uproot the Catholic Church. It has been tried before. Roman emperors did it. Cromwell did it. Lenin did it. Loyalists in Spain did it. Hitler is doing it. Hundreds of others have done it; yet the Church lives on — indestructible. History, 1,900 years of it, verifies Christ's promise to be with the Church to the end of time.

At New York City land tax rates, much higher than the average land tax rates, a tax on Catholic church property would yield approximately $48,000,000 annually. In return for this "subsidy," the Church gives the government a hundred times $48,000,000 worth of public services that promote the welfare of this nation.

Each year the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, with parish units in 2,500 of the churches, distributes $3,300,000 to the poor of America. For a more detailed study of this Church relief agency see this writer's FORUM article in May, 1938.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the 7,445 parish grammar schools of the United States there are 2,170,065 children. These children are educated at the expense of the Church, and the cost of their education is saved by the various municipal governments. About $100 per year is a fair approximation of the per capita cost of educating a child in a public school. In Pittsburgh it runs to $120, while in New York State it is $140. If the governments were to pay for the education of the 2,170,065 children attending Church schools, it would cost Mr. Taxpayer $217,065,000 more than he now spends each year on education. The best investment our governments have is their $48,000,000 "subsidy" to the Catholic churches. On grammar schools alone this investment yields over 400 per cent interest.

If, as has been suggested, the Catholic churches were taxed in the same manner as grocery stores and their relationship with the governments placed on a purely business basis, then the school subsidy the churches grant the governments should be placed on a business basis. The governments would receive $48,000,000 annually from the churches, and the churches would be paid $217,065,000 for their educational work. In England, Holland, and Canada, tax money is paid to the Catholic schools in addition to the "subsidy" for educating their children.

There are 1,179 Catholic high schools with 207,767 students. On high schools alone the "subsidy" granted the churches is almost balanced. There are 199 Catholic colleges for young men and 669 academies for young ladies. The State universities, which means Mr. and Mrs. Taxpayer, save an immense sum each year because Catholic youths go at their or the Church's expense to Fordham, Catholic University, Trinity, Notre Dame, or one of the other Catholic colleges.

There are 325 Catholic orphan asylums with 44,520 inmates. There are 170 homes for the aged. There are 672 hospitals. There are Catholic protectories and reformatories and Houses of the Good Shepherd. Why, it would cost the governments more to build and maintain these institutions alone than the comparatively trivial $48,000,000 tax "subsidy."

In the crime-prevention field, which prevents Mr. Taxpayer from digging a little deeper to pay the bills for convicting young criminals and feeding and lodging them at public expense, the Church saves the taxpayer a fortune each year. Probation, a means for keeping deserving offenders out of expensive prisons, received its greatest impetus in this country from the experiment conducted in New York's Court of General Sessions under the auspices of the Church.

The Catholic Youth Organization, begun in Chicago seven years back by Bishop Bernard J. Sheil, has taken root in many other cities and is doing a fine job of diverting the interests of boys and girls to noncriminal activities. There are Big Brother and Big Sister groups. In Brooklyn the late Helen P. McCormick established a Catholic Big Sister unit that is the ideal of other Big Sister units.

More important than these agencies for preventing crime and promoting the welfare of this nation is the intangible but omnipresent spiritual warmth the Church breathes into the soul of America. It is an organization that preaches morality, the Ten Commandments which are the backbone of our civilization and by statutory enactments have become our criminal law. It is impossible to be a practicing Catholic and a criminal, for every major crime also trespasses on one of the Ten Commandments. To commit crime a Catholic must act in an un-Catholic manner. Sheldon Glueck of the Harvard Law School, in his factual studies of five hundred boys and five hundred young women committed to the Massachusetts reformatories, discovered that the percentage of regular churchgoers among them was very low.

If land taxes are collected from the Catholic churches, some of these public activities will have to be curtailed. The governments will have to build more schools and reformatories and hospitals and homes for the aged and orphanages to replace those the governments close by taking the money needed to finance them. For every dollar the governments collect from the churches, they will have to spend three or four more dollars to finance the public activities now being paid for by the churches. A tax on Catholic churches will raise your taxes. A certain method to lower your taxes is to increase the "subsidy" granted the churches, for they always have been able to make a dollar do two, three, or four times as much work as any government has been able to do.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Human Relations in the Laboratory

by **CHARLES R. WALKER**

THE IDEALS OF THE Institute of Human Relations at Yale University suggest a very old idea which has haunted thinkers in all ages — that if man possessed a bona fide science of human behavior he could control his own destiny. Ten years ago, in an atmosphere of academic skepticism, the Institute was born. The three men at Yale who were most influential in its organization were James R. Angell — at that time President of the University, Dr. Milton C. Winternitz — then the dynamic Dean of the School of Medicine, and Robert M. Hutchins — the twenty-eight-year-old Dean of the School of Law. These gentlemen presented their plan to the Rockefeller Foundation and received a grant for a period of ten years, later extended for a similar term.

The Institute has disappointed a legion of skeptics by proving itself a unique but by no means Utopian enterprise. One of its outstanding achievements to date has been the discovery of how to apply effectively the technique of "co-operative research" to some very old human problems. Jovial and outspoken, the Institute's Director, Professor Mark May, believes that the sciences, especially in our universities, are blocked off from one another by rigid departmental barriers. These intellectual fences, he thinks, are often kept in good repair by professional pride rather than necessity. The Institute has been busy for ten years breaking down fences. It insists that human-relations problems like divorce, unemployment, crime, racial hatreds, or the problems of war and peace do *not* fit into *any of the known scientific categories*. If you're going to solve them, you will need, among other things, Professor May insists, the "multi-science" approach. I will try to explain what he means.

Suppose, for instance, that John Smith gets married. After ten years, the marriage breaks up and ends in divorce. The family is destroyed, and the children are parceled out. All the Smiths — parents and children — are quite desperately unhappy about it but unable to help themselves. What science does John Smith's problem fit into?

Sociology? Yes; the sociologist will tell you that the disreputable neighborhood in which Smith was reared predisposed him to a shiftless life and made him a bad risk for matrimony anyway. But how does it happen that Smith's three brothers, reared by the same parents, are all happily married? Well, let that go.

Maybe the economist can help. Certainly; money troubles hastened that divorce — there's no question about it. And the economist has several Smiths already woven into a statistical chart of small grocery-store proprietors who went bankrupt during the depression. But then there is Smith's partner, who went on relief and is more in love with his wife than ever!

But what about the psychologist on the Smith case? Of course; the psychologist tells us that a large percentage of divorced persons have had sex difficulties in marriage, arising from emotional maladjustments in early infancy. The trouble probably goes back to Smith as a one-year-old.

There are other experts to be heard from — legal students of divorce laws, public-health officers, and so on — all of whom have reduced the Smiths to tables of statistics and are proving useful things about them to somebody. But none of the experts is interested in John Smith himself. That is clear. None of them is tackling Smith's problem as Smith, for better or for worse, has had to tackle it himself.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

II

SUPPOSE THE STUDENT of Smith's problem worked with an economist, a psychologist, a physician, a sociologist, and a lawyer and said to each of them: What do you know about Smith and all the other Smiths and Joneses who face similar problems? Not what do you think but what do you know? If you don't know, find out. Then we'll integrate this knowledge and see where we come out.

In the early days of the Institute this was called the "multi-science" approach. It was tried out first in one of the Institute's first studies of the cause and cure of "badness" in children — the old subject of delinquency.

This study analyzed social, economic, medical, and psychological factors in the lives of over a hundred delinquent children selected from the cities of New Haven, Boston, and Detroit, and it showed, to begin with, what students had suspected for years — that truancy, immorality, theft aren't simply inherent, inexplicable naughtiness. The emotional impulse behind them is quite as discoverable as the impulse behind any voluntary act. The bad boy seeks an emotional outlet for his personality in staying home from school, in robbing a store, or even in setting his own house on fire — an outlet which somehow (*just how* is the question) he has been denied in socially acceptable channels.

All right, you may say; all of that we have known before. Bad living and working conditions breed crime. There is nothing new in that.

But there is something new in what the Institute found. Without denying the effects of bad environment, the Institute discovered that over and over again, in the same street, house, and even *family*, there'd be two children, one of them a normal, even a model, child, the other an incorrigible delinquent. Why? Emotional maladjustment buried deep in the family, affecting one child, not affecting the other.

Take a certain pair of twins. One of them, by the time he was six, had run away from home twice, stolen money from a neighbor's apartment, from a hospital, and from a gasoline station, and had tried to set his house on fire. His twin brother was an even-tempered, obedient, and all but model child.

Investigation showed that the father had always hated the delinquent and, when the boy was a baby, had complained of his lack of responsiveness. "I can't bear to have him touch me," the father told the investigator. "I would rather have a snake around me than him." And the mother stated that the father always repulsed the boy when the latter attempted to climb on his knee.

Clearly, when this boy went in for delinquent exploits with other "bad" boys, he got a recognition for his wounded ego which he was denied at home. The investigator's analysis reads: "The sources of emotional disturbance are clear: the delinquent deeply senses the deprivation of his father's love." His behavior meant, among other things, an "attempt at escape from unpleasant situations, attempt at revenge, and attempt to get substitutive satisfactions."

Certain cases were found hopeless or curable only after a long and difficult treatment; others were speedily cured — without confinement in an institution — *if* the parents and delinquents were assisted by a psychiatrist. Divided according to curability, the investigators found: of the boys and girls in Group I (the most difficult cases) 19 per cent, after treatment, ceased to be delinquents; in Group II, 38 per cent; in Group III, 72 per cent. The evidence overwhelmingly shows that the majority of these children who responded to treatment would otherwise have become criminals or, at best, antisocial personalities for the rest of their lives.

III

THIS STUDY of delinquency is only one of a number of frontal attacks made by the Institute on outstanding social and economic problems. Among them are studies of: unemployment, automobile accidents, population shifts and mobility, bankruptcies, the mental effects of relief, cultural conflicts in the amalgamation of immigrant groups, human factors arising from technological unemployment in industry, and numerous clinical problems in the field of mental and emotional disorders.

The study of practical problems, which received more emphasis during the first five years of the Institute, has tapered off somewhat; and more time is now being given to developing, as far as possible, a basic "science of social behavior."

A good deal can be learned, for instance,

DRURY COLLEGE LIBRARY
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

about human relations by a study of animals. I was frankly skeptical about the value of applying the methods of exact science to my behavior or even to the behavior of my dog, but I was promptly taken downstairs into one of the Institute's laboratories to be shown how mice and men can co-operate in the interests of science.

The Institute's idea is this: In order to study the basic habits which enable any organism to live in its environment and to learn how they are acquired, it is useful to begin with a "naïve organism" — that is, with animals or very young children who don't possess, at the beginning of the experiment, the habit which the scientist wants to observe. The field of study tackled also includes habits of "adaptive behavior" — eating, sleeping, body elimination, social adjustments, etc.

Down in the cellar of the Institute is a little running track with a piece of cheese at one end. Across the track are stretched small wires which can be electrically charged to give the "naïve organism" (a mouse or rat) what the experimenter described as a "sharp but harmless electric shock." The operator turns off the electricity and puts the subject — a rat, let us say — at one end of the track. The rat starts to amble toward the piece of cheese at the other end. As it approaches, it runs faster and faster, while its increasing speed is recorded by an instrument. After the rat has acquired the habit of hurrying down the track toward its dinner, the experimenter reverses the situation and turns on the electricity, so that the rat gets a shock instead of food. After a few trials, when the rat is put down anywhere on the track, instead of running toward the end where the food is, it runs the other way. The point of this experiment is that the vigor with which the rat runs seems to depend on how close it is placed to the point where it expects to receive the shock. In technical language: attraction or repulsion is proportional or inversely so to the nearness of the animal to the point of stimulation — i.e., food or shock.

In another experiment, the rat learned to expect a shock at both ends of the runway. It was equally repulsed from going either way and so oscillated in terrified indecision at the center.

In the most striking experiment I saw, the animal was taught to expect, at the end of the running track, not only the piece of cheese but also the electric shock. Now if it wasn't very hungry and the electric shock was pretty potent, it was caught in a "conflict of motivations." Thoroughly "inhibited," it just couldn't make up his mind what to do. But, if it was unusually hungry, it would risk the shock in order to get the food.

Man often finds his desires or motivations similarly in deadly conflict. This, in psychopathic cases, leads to mental disorder. The basic mechanisms of these conflicts it is obviously easier to study in simple organisms like rats than in man. The Yale scientists are under no illusions as to the amount of time and work required to evolve anything like an actual "science" of behavior useful, let us say, to predict the acts of an individual. But they insist that the start must be made somewhere.

IV

A MORE DIGESTIBLE EXAMPLE of the Institute's work and one which dramatically stresses "co-operative research" is the "frustration-aggression hypothesis."

Aggression is involved to a greater or lesser degree in nearly all the problems that face human beings in their efforts to get along with each other. Why is it, for example, that children torture toads, cats, and other small animals with such glee. Why is it that lovers' quarrels are especially bitter and violent? There seem to be certain periods in life, one notably in early adolescence, when individuals are particularly aggressive. Aggression also seems to be more pronounced in some individuals than in others. Extremely aggressive individuals often commit acts of violence apparently for the sheer joy they receive in seeing others suffer. While these extreme forms of aggression are easily identifiable, other forms are more subtle and difficult to detect.

Very briefly and simply stated, the "frustration-aggression hypothesis" raises the question of the extent to which these forms of aggression can be traced to some form of frustration or thwarting of the individual. The Institute is careful to say that this is a question to be answered only by inquiry into the facts, but the general procedure it is following is to begin by saying that, if aggression is caused by frustration, then certain things should be true.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The research consists in finding out if they *are* true.

If aggression is caused by frustration, then it should follow that (other things being equal) the more intense the frustration, the greater the aggression. This is a subprinciple. For example, the hungrier an animal is, the more likely it is to fight for its food.

Aggression need not follow immediately the act of frustration. It is possible for an animal or a human being to be frustrated at one time and later to exhibit aggression growing out of that frustration. This "latent period" between the frustration and the aggression may conceivably extend over a lifetime. The best illustration is in "grudges." A grudge may be either conscious or unconscious, for the frustration may somehow get covered up in the life of the individual, who finds himself indulging in aggressive acts without being aware why he does so.

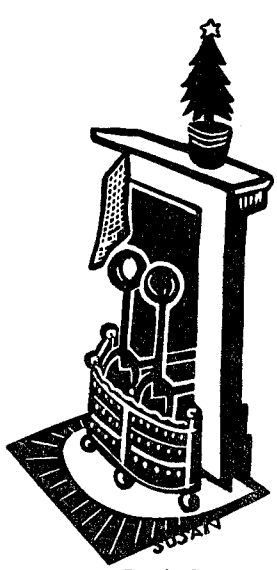
Nearly everybody today who lives within the so-called democratic nations is profoundly disturbed at the rise of "fascist" dictatorships in other countries. I found that the Institute group had given considerable attention to this problem. Light can perhaps be thrown on it by one frustration-aggression hypothesis, though workers at the Institute offered the example with many cautious reservations.

It is clear that the fascist dictators have been phenomenally successful in perpetrating acts of aggression. The outstanding example has been the activities of the German Nazis against the Jewish population of Germany. After the treaty of Versailles and before the advent of Hitler, Germany passed through a period of economic collapse which resulted in physical hardship, including hunger. This, coupled with the psychology of defeat following the war, was a frustrating circumstance for the German people. Social-political strife in Germany may be interpreted as disorganized responses to this frustration.

When Hitler came to power, what did he do? He immediately suppressed all expression of "in-group" unrest but, what is more important, he selected the Jews as an especially vulnerable target for the pent-up aggressions of the Germans.

At this point another subprinciple in the "frustration-aggression hypothesis" comes out. It is that a frustrated organism tends to become aggressive toward the source of the frustration. If the frustrator, however, is in a position to be protected against aggression, then the frustrated party looks for a convenient substitute. Applying this subprinciple to the situation in Germany, one would expect the aggression of the nations defeated in the World War to be directed against their enemies. The psychological goal toward which the Nazis were always striving was of being able to express their aggression toward the Allies.

There is still another subprinciple involved in the "frustration-aggression hypothesis" which is important in understanding a complex situation such as that which exists in Europe. Anthropologists have pointed out that, among primitive peoples, the most warlike tribes are those which are most successful in suppressing "in-group" aggression — meaning strife among themselves. The internal peace and harmony of a tribe seem to be conditional on having a common enemy on the outside; and, oddly enough, the greater the love and loyalty and self-sacrifice displayed among the in-group, the greater the hatred, violence, and often irrational aggression visited on the out-group. If this subprinciple is true, then, the greater the number of individual sacrifices that members of a nation are called on to make in behalf of that nation and the more the individual members are restrained from taking it out on each other, the more disposed such a people will be toward aggressive acts directed against outside groups.



Drawing by Susan Flint

"Frustration-aggression" or any of the other hypotheses the Institute is at work on offers no ready-made solutions for human problems, but the recorded progress of the natural sciences has shown that the methodological search for scientific laws is a prerequisite of the application of knowledge to social ends. The Institute believes that there is no short cut to a science of human behavior.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Artist's Point of View

*Picasso at the Museum of Modern Art; 'Modern American Painting,' a Book by Peyton Boswell, Jr.**

THE PICASSO retrospective exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York (later at the Art Institute, Chicago) challenges America, so say the critics, finally to decide the puzzling values of his art. The challenge is timely. The uncompromising protagonists of the American School, Craven and Boswell, have little if any mercy for the Paris School and its influence on American painting.

Says Mr. Boswell:

> Artists who have adopted European technic without *adapting* it to the American spirit — artists like Allen Tucker, John Marin, Stuart Davis, Max Weber, Maurice Sterne, Marsden Hartley, Charles Demuth and Arthur Dove — these we hail as fine artists but not as American artists; they are the remnant of the once powerful international contingent.

Picasso's forty years of paintings challenge this challenge. Is the Paris Modern School really *un-American?*

The Museum catalogue quotes two interviews with Picasso which I wish every art lover would read. They illuminate Picasso, the man, brilliantly. They obscure and spotlight the values in his work as his sweeping generalizations are ameliorated with flashes of his dramatized insight. Let me quote a few stray phrases:

> Art is not truth; art is a lie that makes us realize truth. . . . There are no concrete or abstract forms, but only forms which are more or less convincing lies. Through these lies we form our esthetic point of view of life . . . joy of discovery . . . pleasure of the unexpected. . . . I use things as my passions tell me. . . . A picture lives a life like a living creature. . . . The green I thought of is there in the picture, but not in the place or quantity I intended. (Emotional painting.) . . . I want nothing but emotion to be given off by my painting. . . . I did not copy the light; I was simply soaked in it. . . . It is not what the artist does that counts, but what he is. . . . The whole world is open before us, everything waiting to be done, not just redone.

Here are fragments of the philosophy of the man as artist expressed in words. His pioneering work expressed that philosophy from the incredibly early year of 1901, when he first abandoned naturalism for creation. Are these concepts national? Are they French? Are they Parisian? Hardly. They are international. They are timeless and placeless. As an influence on American or any other artists, whether adopted or adapted, they can spell only revitalization, increased awareness and creative self-confidence — all desperately needed from 1900 to now to rescue us from our own dark age of skillful copying.

Picasso's work as an influence certainly included these verbalizations. Also it included that other great liberating force which the Naturalists had not then and still have not discovered — design. Design is in the work, after 1901, for all artists to respond to and use.

Picasso's influence, along with that of the other French moderns, has been indispensable to American art. That influence vitalizes abstract or realistic painting — both normal and healthy expressions of any country. Without it the American School might still be painting aesthetically barren factual data about the native scene — *as some of its too well protected artists are doing even now.*

Boswell's book, *Modern American Painting*, is a welcome broadening of Craven's little clique of native artists. Its eighty-six illustrations in full color (borrowed from the magazine *Life*) give a comprehensive record of vital work by the "American sceners" of yesterday and today, together with biographies of the artists, an able outline of the historical background, and an understanding appraisal of the government art program. Its debits are four — a rampant, Hitlerian nationalism so virulent that it places the major emphasis on *Americanism* instead of *art;* the exclusion of the abstractionists as non-American because they do not deal concretely with native life; a meager conception of "pure art," illustrated by Benton's latest paintings; and a failure to distinguish between naturalism and the design-conscious school. With these reservations I place this physically impressive book on the list of "musts."

RALPH M. PEARSON

* *Dodd, Mead, $5.00.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE RECORD REVIEW

BRAHMS: SYMPHONY NO. 1 IN C MINOR. Felix Weingartner & London Symphony (Columbia M-383; 5 records, $7.50).

BRAHMS: QUINTET IN F MINOR FOR PIANO & STRINGS. Rudolph Serkin & Busch Quartet (Victor M-607; 5 records, $10).

GOLDMARK: 'RUSTIC WEDDING' SYMPHONY. Howard Barlow & Columbia Broadcasting Symphony (Columbia M-385; 5 records, $7.50).

SCHUBERT: SYMPHONY NO. 9 IN C MAJOR. Bruno Walter & London Symphony (Victor M-602; 6 records, $9.00).

MOZART: SYMPHONY NO. 41 IN C MAJOR ('JUPITER'), *K. 551.* Bruno Walter & Vienna Philharmonic (Victor M, AM 584; 4 records, $5.75).

BEETHOVEN: CONSECRATION OF THE HOUSE. Felix Weingartner & London Philharmonic Orchestra (Columbia X-140; 2 records, $3.50).

WEINGARTNER'S new and up-to-date recording of the Brahms First Symphony replaces his earlier brilliant recording of the same work. It also supersedes technically as well as musically the magniloquent versions by Stokowski and Bruno Walter. In other words, Brahms's monumental First Symphony is now available in a brilliant recording that is matched by an equally rousing performance. The innate grandeur of the score, its sweep and marvelous lyricism, its potent drama have finally been tendered a recorded expression that wins over even anti-Brahmsians, for no one can resist the fervor of Weingartner's conception. This is a truly definitive achievement.

ANOTHER replacement album is the vigorous performance of the Brahms F-Minor Quintet by Serkin and the Busch Quartet. This set supersedes the excellent Bauer-Flonzaley Quartet recording, and it is appropriate, indeed, that Victor should have selected the present forces to undertake the replacement. The performance by Serkin and the Busches manifests the same profound conceptuality that was revealed in the Kell-Busch performance of the Clarinet Quintet and in the recordings of the Opus 127 and Opus 132 quartets of Beethoven. Though lacking the brilliant externals germane to performances by the famous Budapest Quartet, the Busch ensemble (and whoever may have the distinctive honor to collaborate with it) possesses an intellectual approach to great music that is absolutely matchless. Here is Brahms's F-Minor Quintet set forth in magnificence and splendor in a recording that superbly balances piano and strings and faithfully reproduces the timbres.

SOME years back the "Rustic Wedding" Symphony of Karl Goldmark — more a series of colorful countryside pieces strung together, in the nature of a suite, than a symphony — was recorded for Victor by Robert Heger. But even the fine imaginative qualities of Heger's interpretation are insufficient to outshine the virtues of the new Columbia version by Barlow. Barlow's performance is almost as animated as Heger's, and the beauty of the recorded tone and resonance of the set more than compensate the short end of the balance. This is a recording that will fill a long awaited need for a brilliant gramophonic interpretation of a work with universal appeal.

BRUNO Walter has often been disappointing in Mozart, Beethoven, and Brahms performances because of his tendency to vary tempos indiscriminately. Here in the glorious Schubert C-Major Symphony, however, tempo deviations enhance the music, and we have a flowing performance of Schubert's symphonic *pièce de résistance.* The interpretation would benefit from more rhythmic incisiveness, especially in the last movement. But the warm feeling and genuine adoration of Schubert — one might almost say the contact with a divine spark — apparent in the conductor provide a beautiful performance that is fully and articulately recorded.

THIS is a sensitive performance of the "Jupiter" Symphony. The recording is one of the last made before the fall of Vienna, and in it Bruno Walter and the Vienna Philharmonic surpass themselves. The interpretation is warm, and the playing of the orchestra is responsive. Choice between this set and the Beecham version is a matter of preference. In this set's favor is the advance of recording; in the Beecham set's behalf is the better taste of the conductor, the greater consistency of the tempos, and the greater dignity. You will have to hear both before making your choice. Both are excellent performances.

AN overture of Beethoven's that, for some reason or other, is neglected in this country is the "Consecration of the House." A late work, the overture is as expertly written as "Fidelio," "Egmont," or any other of the Beethoven overtures. It is a complete concert piece, unrelated to any dramatic work and without any dramatic significance save its own content.

Until now it has also been neglected on records, but Weingartner's performance was well worth waiting for. This time he has the London Philharmonic at his disposal for what is a truly brilliant performance and full-blown recording. Here is a Beethoven bit well-written, well-played, and well-recorded.

ARTHUR WALLACE HEPNER

TOASTS

EDWARD TWIG has lived in Charleston off and on for a number of years. He loves the place for its ruins and its climate — the Charleston that actually exists, he says, not the city of delusion. At present Mr. Twig is writing a play.

The **ANONYMOUS** author of "I Was a Jew," happy in his hard-won new identity, has in his article told all he feels it is discreet to say about himself.

ROBERT R. UPDEGRAFF is a spare-time writer whose business is advising corporations on advertising, sales, personnel, and public relations.

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS gave the educational world a start by becoming President of the University of Chicago, in 1929, at the advanced age of thirty. When U. S. education had time to recover from the shock, it discovered that President Hutchins was not only young but smart, superenergetic, and full of meaty ideas which he has been hurling at the more unprogressive professors ever since.

GEORGE H. TICHENOR is Editor of the *Co-operator,* the newspaper of the Eastern Co-operative League. He is the author of two novels and numerous short stories and articles on the theatre. In October, 1931, he wrote an article for THE FORUM about television.

WINFRED RHOADES, onetime pastor of a Boston church, is a psychotherapist at the Boston Dispensary. This is his fifth FORUM article (the first was in January, 1937) on problems of personality and personal psychology.

JOSEPH ERNEST MCAFEE is (it may be significant) from Missouri, now lives in New Jersey. He studied theology at Union, Auburn, and Princeton seminaries but without the intention of entering the ministry. He has been engaged in community-service work most of his life and has written many books and articles on social and religious subjects.

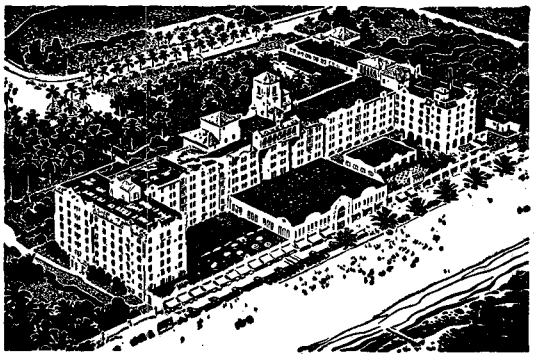
ROBERT E. SPEER, author of a great number of religious books, was a secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions from 1891 to 1937, when he retired.

LAWRENCE LUCEY is a young lawyer practicing in Brooklyn, New York, and a frequent contributor to Catholic publications. In May, 1938, THE FORUM published his "Relief and the Church."

CHARLES R. WALKER, a former editor of the *Atlantic Monthly, Independent,* and *Bookman,* writes chiefly about labor, economics, and literature. He lives in Massachusetts.

ELEANOR VAN ALEN was for several years Literary Editor of the *North American Review.* She has also contributed reviews to the *Saturday Review of Literature, New York Herald Tribune,* and *Boston Transcript,* among others.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THIS is Florida's largest oceanfront resort-estate. Diversions provided under the American Plan include golf, tennis, surf-bathing, other sports; dinner dancing, formal and informal social events; and an entertainment program for this season featuring Richard Bonelli, Mischa Elman, H. V. Kaltenborn, Cornelia Otis Skinner, Jose Iturbi, Lucy Monroe, Fray and Braggiotti, James Melton and others. We solicit the patronage of a limited number of new guests whose cultural backgrounds and personal tastes are similar to those of our established clientele. Inquiries from readers of Forum are cordially invited. Oscar T. Johnson, General Manager.

NEW YORK OFFICE
The Sherry-Netherland

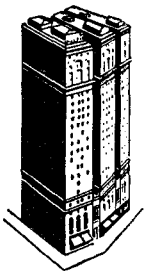
CHICAGO OFFICE
Suite 1409, The Blackstone
Phone Wabash 7064

FLORIDA'S

HOLLYWOOD BEACH HOTEL

ON THE OCEAN ▪ AT HOLLYWOOD

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"A GREAT HOTEL" IN NEW YORK

The Hotel McAlpin fulfills all the requirements of the visitor in New York—whether one is here strictly on a business trip or merely to see the shows and sights—or both. Because of its "center of the city" location it is only a matter of several minutes to reach any section of the city. One block from Penn Station and Empire State Building.

LARGE ROOMS, NEWLY FURNISHED & DECORATED
SINGLE *from* $3. DOUBLE $4.50

HOTEL McALPIN

BROADWAY AT 34th ST., NEW YORK
Under KNOTT Management
JOHN J. WOELFLE, *Manager*

A Famous Spa ...IN AMERICA

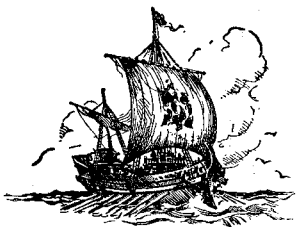
Far from European tribulations, amid the tonic beauty of the Finger Lakes region, is the famous Glen Springs Hotel and its radioactive Nauheim Baths and mineral springs. Come here for the re-creation of mental serenity, physical vigor and spiritual happiness. Delicious food, fresh from our own farms. Excellent golf and miles of delightful walking trails on our 1,000 acre estate. Open the year 'round. Selected clientele. 50th Season.

Wm. M. Leffingwell, *President*

THE Glen Springs
Watkins Glen, N.Y. HOTEL

New York Office: 630 Fifth Ave.—CIrcle 5-8199

Travel Briefs



by **HARRY J. PRICE**

IF THE WAR has upset all your plans for winter or spring vacationing, don't be downhearted. There are plenty of places you haven't been much nearer home than the Mediterranean or the German spas. What's more, there will be plenty of bargains and superservice in all-American vacations this year. American (and this includes Alaskan, Hawaiian, Canadian, Mexican and Central and South American) travel agencies, transportation companies, and resorts are going to be breaking their necks to give you what you want. For you and your fellow travelers, the Department of Commerce estimates, have been spending $213,000,000 annually overseas, and 1940 looks like the year when most of this is going to be spent in America's back yard. So rest easy; you will get your money's worth and probably find, too, that the farthest pastures aren't always greenest.

MANY WINTER-SPORTS enthusiasts are looking toward Quebec and the Laurentian Mountains, remembering delightful visits in seasons past, and the winter sportsman or sportswoman who has yet to try the superb trails of this section will not be disappointed if he marks it down for an early date. St. Sauveur, Ste. Marguerite, Ste. Agathe, and St. Jovite are among the popular skiing centers, and the City of Quebec itself gets a good share. Many Laurentian ski slopes will be lighted for New Year's Eve, and the Chateau Frontenac at Quebec, long noted for its holiday festivities, will outdo Times Square this season. Train service for Canada-bound skiers is excellent, and Canadian Colonial Airlines will take you from New York to Montreal in two hours (no extra charge for checking skiing equipment).

This Year Visit

SAN DIEGO, the land of fascinating surprises, historic thrills, semi-tropic loveliness, climatic comfort, magnificent panoramas, exotic vistas, desert lure, orange blossoms and sunsets over the blue Pacific.

A gently rising terrain with Southern California at its best from broad, white beaches and a great land-locked harbor to a stately mountain empire on the east.

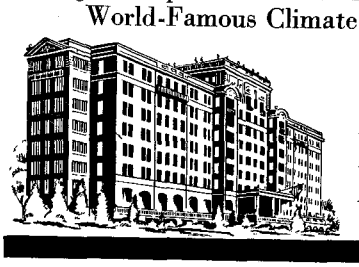
This year turn west to SAN DIEGO, where California began and Mexico begins . . . enjoy countless new thrills in a land of perennial sunshine.

FREE BOOKLET
Address . . . Room No. 418
San Diego California Club

SAN DIEGO *In Southern* CALIFORNIA
CONSULT YOUR TRAVEL AGENT
ASK ABOUT NEW RAIL RATES

Fly DOWN TO
AUGUSTA
Georgia

All-Expense Tours
including
7 Days, with Meals and Private Bath
at the
Forest Hills Hotel
also round-trip transportation from New York via Eastern Air Lines and
Free Golf—the South's Best
(No Steep Hills) at Hotel Door
$140.60
Augusta Airport 1 Mile from Hotel
World-Famous Climate



Address
Forest Hills Hotel
Augusta Ga.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our Rostrum

(*continued from page 25*)

foreign affairs. They described their experiences and impressions to warn that things can happen here too. Democracy involves a responsibility of every member of society: it is shortsighted, narrow-minded and thus un-American to think that "our own business" ends at any rate at the American frontiers.

HANS LAMM

Kansas City, Mo.

"Brattish" is the word for Isabel Lundberg's article. "Vulgar," "ill judged," "ignorant," "deliberately distortionate," "cruel" express to some extent what I feel of her poorly written attempt to be smart at the expense of others' disappointment and suffering. Miss Lundberg, I am ashamed of you.

EMILIE H. CONDON

Edgewood, Pa.

Only the Postal regulations and rules of common decency prevent me from using the kind of language I should feel justified in employing. The malodorous Dr. Goebbels could not have wished for a better propagandist. Is she an American citizen? Why did THE FORUM publish the article? According to her, he who fails must be kept down, no matter what the ideals of his "lost cause." FOR WHAT SIDE IS MME. LUNDBERG SPEAKING? Is she arguing for the retention by the international bandits of their ill-gotten swag? I am writing as a veteran of the World War. How long could America hold aloft the lamp of democracy in the face of a European and Asiatic domination of dictatorships?

JOSEPH KONEČNY

East Peoria, Ill.

Miss Lundberg, wife of Ferdinand (America's Sixty Families) *Lundberg, is an American citizen.* THE FORUM *published her article because the Editors correctly thought it would interest readers, including Mr. Konečny. The Editors failed to find in her article any profascist inferences (other than that European anti-fascists are not infallible), doubt that most Americans would happily join Mr. Konečny in a new military expedition to restore Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Poland, Finland, and perhaps other territories to an earlier status.*

OUR ECONOMY IN WARTIME

In February and March, 1937, we published a symposium on "How to Stay Out of War." A contributor was Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace, who has now politely called our attention to the fact that we deleted from his piece the two paragraphs which, now that a war has actually come, seem by far the most prescient and meaningful. Belatedly, we give them to you:

If the public could be made to see that the real choice lies between an enormous financial cost and wartime regimentation, if we drift into participation, and a moderate cost supplemented by constructive social measures under liberalized federal powers, a decision to stay out of a European war could then be maintained, and pressure for participation overcome, by having the public attention and interest engaged in programs such as those suggested here. Furthermore, the opportunity could be utilized to build a more effective Pan-Americanism of peace and friendly commerce.

Thus, by not participating in a European war under the assumption we have made here, this country would make substantial progress toward raising the standard of living within its borders, build for permanent international relations in the Western Hemisphere, and perhaps even bring Europe by example nearer to a renunciation of war.

Forum Quiz Answers

1. (c) "*Hmm; Goethe had it, too. Very sad.*" [World pain, woe, or sadness.]
2. (a) *⅛ mile*
3. (b) *The* banderillero *enrages the bull.* [A man who puts barbed darts, or banderillas, into bull's neck.]
4. (a) *Molotov* [He replaced Litvinov.]
5. (d) *Let us know if you can come.*
6. (d) *A Jug of Wine, a Loaf of Bread.*
7. (c) *Louis Eilshemius* [His works now hang in various museums. The Metropolitan, which once refused three of his paintings as a gift, has now bought three.]
8. (b) *hallmark* [Originally Hall Mark, official mark stamped on silver and gold articles at Goldsmith's Hall, London, to attest purity of metal. Later, an identifying mark. Plimsoll mark is the load line painted on side of ship.]
9. (b) "*My marriage is as good as achieved.*" [An accomplished fact.]
10. (d) *sugar* [Second largest producer in the world.]
11. (d) *Hitler.*
12. (a) *express his first, second, third, etc., choices* [System elects representatives in proportion to the number of voters, thus giving representation to minorities and scattered but like-minded groups of the electorate.]
13. (c) *George Abbott* [*Three Men on a Horse, See My Lawyer, Too Many Girls, etc.*]
14. (a) *a lectern* [Reading desk or stand from which lections or lessons from scripture are read. Reredos is the screen or partition wall behind altar, often decorated.]
15. (b) *Lord Lothian.*
16. (c) *slain a dragon* [See portrayals of Raphael, Durer. St. George was a soldier under Diocletian, was beheaded after conversion to Christianity. St. Patrick banished the snakes, begorra, and a tun of ale equals 252 wine gallons.]
17. (a) *a character of an early Teutonic alphabet* [Used from third century A.D. until end of Anglo-Saxon era, often for magic or mystic inscriptions.]
18. *elemosynary* [Should be eleemosynary and means "charitable."]
19. (d) "*Tristan and Isolde*" [by Richard Wagner.]
20. (c) *time, place, location* [Not usually followed in modern plays.]
21. (d) *kills germs but not patients.*
22. (c) *far greater than it should be.*
23. (b) *more babies are born* [The gain is negligible.]
24. (c) *avoids static* [and gives far better reception than ordinary equipment but would mean scrapping present sets if generally adopted. Experimental stations being built.]
25. (b) *von Brauchitsch.*
26. (c) *Earl Browder* [Secretary of the Communist Party of America.]
27. (a) *Turkey.*
28. (a) "*We'll talk about the meaning of words.*"
29. (b) *Nile Kinnick* [Played for Iowa. He received Heisman trophy as outstanding all-around player of U.S. and was only unanimous choice of Big Ten coaches for all-Conference team.]
30. (a) *Carl Milles* [Work recently unveiled in St. Louis. Also represented elsewhere in the U.S. Sillanpaa, a Finn, recently won Nobel Prize for literature.]
31. (a) *David Low* [Currently featured in *Collier's*. Augur and Pertinax are political commentators.]
32. (b) *Behind the dark church tower.*
33. (a) *Governor Vanderbilt of Rhode Island.*
34. (a) *gout.*
35. (a) *a holder of high office* [Comes from the comic character in *The Mikado.*]
36. (c) "*Banzai*" *means* "*Honor the Sword.*" [Wrong; it means literally "Ten thousand years" or "We shall live forever."]
37. (b) *the U.S.A.*
38. (a) *Leonard Q. Ross.*
39. (c) "*Tobacco Road*" *has had the longest Broadway run of any play in America.* [Over five years.]
40. (a) "*I like dancing.*" [Stage dancing, ballet.]

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED